Colonial Impact on Urbanisation of the West Punjab: Development of the Headquarter Towns of Canal Colony Districts as Imperial Centres, 1849-1947

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VOLUME ONE

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requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Addressing the urbanisation of West Punjab region (presently in Pakistan), this thesis analyses how space was restructured in old and new towns and districts for fulfilling imperial imperatives of power and economy during the British rule from 1849 to 1947. The research studies the historical evolution of urban form of district headquarter towns in relation to town's role in the region. It is based on archival research, extensive fieldwork and case studies. Conducted at both regional and urban scales, instead of focusing capital cities of Lahore and Multan, the study draws attention to the development of medium sized towns. It discusses headquarter towns of eight canal colony district: Gujranwala, Gujrat, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Sargodha, Sheikhupura, and Sialkot. Situated in between big cities and small towns and villages, these towns acted as middle centres of imperial power and economy. The thesis argues that these old and new towns were not developed in isolation, but rather as a part of a larger imperial system that ensured and enabled the dissemination of political and economic authority and control over the region's populace and produce. The thesis also documents for the first time, with a photographic survey, the architecture of colonial buildings found in these towns.

The thesis brings out the significance of studying the development of a colonial town in relation to its regional context and role. It is concluded that restructuring of West Punjab, through various means including agricultural colonisation, infrastructural networks, making of new districts, extension of old towns and planning of entirely new towns, was in accordance with the imperial necessities of power and economy. As such, the urbanisation of this region was affected in an unprecedented way, increasing the population, agricultural produce and trade activity, as well as establishing a new settlement pattern, while prompting the reorganisation of regional space and urban centres. The study highlights that the imperial rule brought into its net of influence, control and order, not only the big cities but also the towns and villages spread across the vast landscape of West Punjab.

Dedicated to

my mother and father

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Glossary of Terms

abadkar	a settler, or a peasant grantee
ala lambardar	a senior village headman
bagh	garden
bania	a moneylender
baoli	step well
bar	upland of western tracts of the Punjab
baradari	an open pavilion
bazar	market
chak	a planned colony village
chammar	a leather worker
chattri or chatri	an umbrella, like a small dome-shaped pavilion for decorative purposes
chowk	an open area in centre or a junction of roads
chowki	outposts of police
chowkidar	watchman or guard
doab	inter-fluvial tract or land between two rivers
dak	post
dak bungalow	hostelries or inns for travellers
dalli or doara	a small water stream

darbar	court, sometimes also used for a shrine
dargah	shrine
dhaya	a high central ridge
galli	alley
ghanta ghar	clock tower
ghee	a clarified butter
ghumbd	dome
gora qabristan	graveyard of the White
gora sahib	British officer
gotka	local red brick tile
gurdwara	Sikh temple
hakim	traditional Indian medical practitioner
hammam	building of public baths
haveli	a traditional mansion, usually with a courtyard
hithari	the settled agriculturalist of riverain tract of uplands of the West Punjab
jagir or jageer	estate, usually a large agricultural landholding
jagirdar or jageerdar	an owner of a large estate or a landowner
jalli	a screen or latticework
jangli	a resident of a jungle, the indigenous semi-nomadic pastoral tribes of uplands of the West Punjab in particular

jharoka	a projected balcony
jhok	small temporary nomadic settlements of camel owners in the *bars* of the West Punjab
kanal	one-eighth of an acre
kanongo	a judicial magistrate or a revenue officer who supervises the work
karkhana	a workshop or a small factory
kharif	summer or autumn harvest
killa	sub-division of a square in a *mauza,* one-twenty-fifth of a colony square
kos-minar	a mile pillar to measure distance of 1 kos = 3 km
kutchery	civil station
lambardar	village headman
lattoo	a spare-blade
lohar	an ironsmith
madrassa	a traditional learning centre i.e. school
mahal	a palace or a fiscal division of Mughal and Sikh times
maharaja	a great ruler or a king
mai-bap	parents, used for rulers
mandi	market
mandir	temple

marla	an area equal to 1/160 of an acre
masjid	mosque
mauza	a colony estate or village
mela	a traditional festival
minar	minaret or tower
mistri	a craftsman
mohalla	a traditional neighbourhood
munsif	a magistrate or a judge
nizam	a governor in the Mughal rule
nullah	a large water stream
parganah	a territorial and fiscal division of Mughal and Sikh times
patti	a line or a row, usually a sub-division of an estate
patwari	a record keeper or an accountant of revenue in a village
phansi-ghat	a place of hanging in a jail premises
pir	a saint or a holy man
rags	musical notes
rakh	official block of land
rah-chowki	a road post of police
rahna	small temporary nomadic settlements of cattle owners in the *bars* of the West Punjab

rabi	winter or spring harvest
rais	a rich aristocrat or a capitalist grantee
raja	prince
sahib bahadur	a brave gentleman, used for a British officer
samadh	a Sikh tomb
sarkar	an administrative unit of Mughal and Sikh times, almost equivalent to districts
serai	inn or caravanserai
shagird or a chaila	a pupil, student or a disciple
shah-nashine or a rons	a place of sitting on roof of a traditional mansion
shamshan ghat	a place where Hindu cremate the dead
shikra	a dome of the temple
shisham or sheesham	rosewood
suba or subah	a larger administrative unit of Mughal and Sikh times, equivalent to province
sufedposh	a yeoman grantee
tahsil or tehsil	sub-division, an administrative unit of colonial times
tahsildar	a headman of a *tahsil*
talab	a large masonry water tank
taluka	a fiscal division like a *tahsil*
tarkhan	a woodworker or a carpenter

thana or thanna	a police office
thandi	cool
thara	a pavement in front of a shop or a residence in a medieval town
tibba	a cultural mound, signifying historicity of a particular place
tirni	a grazing tax of the Mughal and Sikh times
ustad or a guru	a master, teacher or a scholar
zail	an administrative group of villages
zaildar	a headman of a *zail*
zamindar	an owner of large land holding
zamindari	land ownership
zilla	district, an administrative unit
zilla kanongo	district judicial magistrate

Introduction

Located in North India, the Punjab is a region with a rich and diverse history, geography and culture. It was viewed as a frontier region[1] of much political and economic significance for establishing the British authority in North India and was finally annexed by the British in 1849. The British colonial policies in India were characterized mainly by conflicting conservative and progressive thoughts, wherein order was a priority on one hand and transformative forces were in play to influence Indian society on the other. This Talbot argues is 'etched in sharper profile in Punjab because of the region's strategic importance and the event of 1857'.[2] During the 1857 revolt, the loyalty of the Punjab's landholding classes with provision of military support to the British led to the further recognition of this region's importance for establishing British authority in North India. Peace and political stability of the Punjab, thus, became vital for the British, leading to development of railway lines and road networks with cantonments and forts in early phase of colonial rule in the Punjab. These earlier developments of communication and transportation networks for political and strategic reasons, linking far flung areas of the Punjab, also influenced the economic and urban landscape of the Punjab with the launch of agricultural colonisation.[3] Mainly through the canal projects in western *doabs* (inter-fluvial tracts) of the Punjab, referred to as canal colonies, the Punjab was transformed altogether, resulting in massive increase of its agricultural produce, international trade, recruitment of its martial races[4], creation of Punjabi elites supporting the British rule, and development of several old and new towns in this process.[5] Moreover, with the increase of agricultural produce and resulting revenue through canal colonies, the district became an important territorial and administrative unit, where the urban and rural landscape was appropriated to serve the imperial purposes of political authority and economic gains. This led to the extension of old towns and planning of new towns and villages in the West Punjab. The relationship

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[1] Graham Chapham, *The* Geopolitics of South Asia*: From Early Empires to the Nuclear Age* (London: Aldershot Ashgate 2003), pp. 129-130.

[2] Ian Talbot, 'The Punjab Under Colonialism: Order and Transformation in British India', in *Journal of Punjab Studies* 14, Pt. 1 (2011), 3-10 (p. 4).

[3] Rajit K. Mazumder, 'The Making of Punjab: Colonial Power, The Indian Army and Recruited Peasants, 1849-1939' (doctoral thesis, University of London, SOAS, 2001), pp. 18-20.

[4] Tan Tai-Yong, 'An Imperial Home-Front: Punjab and the First World War', in *The Journal of Military History* 64, Pt. 2 (April 2000), 371-410 (p. 374).

[5] Imran Ali, 'Malign Growth? Agricultural Colonization and the Roots of Backwardness in the Punjab', in *Past & Present* 114, (February 1987), 110-132 (p. 111-113).

between these imperial imperatives of political and economic control, and the spatial development of the Punjab is, however, a largely understudied area. This research attempts to fill this gap in the literature by focusing on development of canal colony districts and their headquarter towns during the British rule in the Punjab, in order to contribute to the understanding of urbanisation of the Punjab.

This research discusses the evolution of the urban form of headquarter towns of the districts of the Punjab in relation to the towns' role and status in the overall regional context and development of this region for the British imperial power and economy. The study seeks to attempt a wider understanding of the impacts of imperial imperatives on urbanisation of this region, beyond the realms of its capital and big cities. As such, the study highlights the various means and ways in which the imperial purposes of political control and economic growth influenced the urbanisation and the regional space with development of its old and new urban centres. It brings to light how the British were able to exercise their authority through the expansion of old towns and planning of new towns that acted as middle centres of imperial power and economy between big cities and villages of the region. The study delineates how this imperial imperative of control and order over the population, land and economic production of the region has its transformative effects on regional space and on the evolution of urban form and architecture of its towns.

The study covers the span of almost a century of British rule in the Punjab from the annexation of the Punjab in 1849 to the end of imperial rule upon independence 1947. It is important to remember that the Punjab upon independence in 1947 was also partitioned; East Punjab is now located in India and West Punjab became the part of Pakistan. This study, however, is limited to the development of West Punjab and its urbanisation during the British rule, and it does not cover or include the effects of this historical event of partition 1947 on the social and built environment of urban centres of West Punjab.

The main focus of this study is the headquarter towns of canal colony districts of West Punjab. Canal colony districts are situated in the western *doabs* of the Punjab, where the agricultural colonisation was launched during the British rule. The districts that were settled through land grants to these canal colonies were ultimately referred to as canal colony districts. Today, all these canal colony districts are located in the Punjab of Pakistan. The agricultural colonisation must be recognised as a major catalyst of rapid urbanisation in this region. Thus, the canal colony districts and their headquarter towns are selected for this study. These headquarter towns were crucial to disseminate the British authority in each district, beyond the capital city of the Punjab, Lahore. The map of British Punjab in figure 1 shows the canal colony districts, highlighted in red. Whilst the impacts of various means and processes like agricultural colonisation are discussed and analysed in appropriating the regional space for imperial purposes, this research, however, does not cover the technical aspects of the development of these processes. For instance, the development of irrigation systems and improvement in agricultural techniques during this colonisation process is beyond the scope of this study.

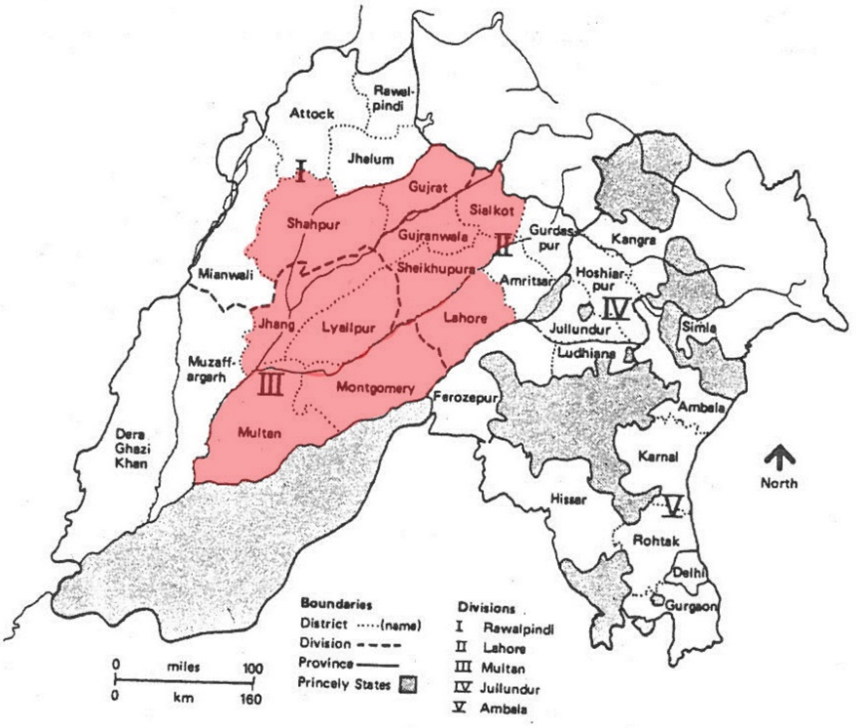

Figure 1 Map of British Punjab, 1947, showing the canal colony districts highlighted red.[6]

The changed boundaries of these districts in post-colonial times were kept in mind and for this research the British boundaries of these canal colony districts will be followed. Further, the names of the towns and districts used in this research are spelt throughout thesis according to their presently used spellings. This is done to avoid the confusion as some towns appear with different spelling in various archival sources of colonial times. For instance, Sialkot is spelled both as Seealkote and Sealkot in the old colonial archival documents, and so the town is spelled as 'Sialkot' according to present

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[6] Author's own illustration. Source of Base Map: Imran Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism, 1885-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 1.

spellings of the town's name in this thesis. In case of complete change of the town's name during the post-colonial times, however, the name of the town during the colonial times is used in this thesis since the study is about the British period. For instance, Lyallpur, the name of town during the colonial times, is used in this thesis even though it is renamed as Faisalabad during the post-colonial times. The local terminology and names used in the text are written in italics and are defined in parentheses when they appear for the first time in the text. These local terminology and names are also explained in the glossary of terms provided at the start of the thesis.

The main aim of research is to extend present understanding of urbanisation of the Punjab during British rule by tracing and explaining the historical development of headquarter towns and their canal colony districts. The evolution of urban form of towns during the British rule is studied as an expression of the role of towns as imperial centres for implementing imperial authority in the region. Thus, the primary objectives of the research are as follows:

1. To extend the post-colonial discourse on urbanisation and architecture under British imperial rule in the Punjab.

2. To develop a historical understanding of the context of the Punjab in order to trace the influence of British interventions on the urbanisation of this region.

3. To study the British policies of development (strategic and economic) in the Punjab with a view to comprehend the relation between imperial political and economic imperatives, and spatial development of this region.

4. To analyse the reorganisation of regional space together with the role of the town at urban and district levels in order to locate the individual town in a wider regional context of political and economic development of the Punjab.

5. To delineate the historical evolution of urban form and space within two main types of towns, old and new, with the purpose of analysing the influence of imperial imperatives of power and economy on town development.

This study addresses two main sets of research questions:

1. At regional and district level:
- What were the policies and means for the development of the Punjab during the British rule and how these affected the urbanisation in this region? How was the space appropriated at these macro levels to serve imperial power and economy? What became the role of the town at district level within the overall strategic, political and economic development of the Punjab?

2. At urban and architectural scale:
- How was the town planned and for what purposes? How did the role of the town in a district influence on its urban form? How were the old Punjabi towns appropriated and expanded to serve as district headquarters? Why were the new towns laid out and how were these new towns planned for implementing political and economic order in the district? What architectural styles did the colonial buildings in these towns follow and how did these buildings assist in shaping a town's form and role in the district?

Significance of Research and Contribution to Knowledge

Post-colonial literature on colonial cities of Indo-Pak Sub-continent relates primarily to capital and big cities, whereas, the development of medium and small towns during the later phase of the British rule in particular is a largely under-researched area. Moreover, within the Punjab and North India, one of the regions conquered in later phase by the British in 1849, the majority of studies on colonial towns are limited to capital cities including Lahore, Multan, and Peshawar. This trend of overtly focusing on big cities of the British Punjab captured the attention of the scholars and developers alike continually in the present post-colonial times, resulting in the neglect of the wider regional context of numerous administrative and market towns developed during the British rule. Today, these towns are still expanding on and beyond the colonial lines, however, with the growing population, their urban problems are being exacerbated and it is becoming difficult to understand the situation without a historical perspective on the town development in this region. This research aspires to tackle this twofold problem by contributing to both the understanding of urbanisation in the later phase of the British rule in regional context of the Punjab, and the comprehension of the development of medium-sized headquarter towns, extending the understanding of urbanisation of British Punjab beyond the region’s capital and big cities.

In addition, the Punjab was developed in the later decades of nineteenth century till end of British rule upon independence 1947 as an exemplary agricultural province through the agricultural colonisation. The various effects of this colonisation process on socio-political, economical, and ecological context of the Punjab are studied by scholars of different fields including sociology, history, economic and political sciences (discussed in literature review of this introduction). However, there is no comprehensive study conducted in the fields of architecture and urban planning that can relate the effects of this agricultural colonisation on the urbanisation and development of towns in this region. This research is, thus, a multi-disciplinary study, providing an architectural and urban historian’s perspective, aiming to bridge this gap in knowledge by relating the studies conducted in various fields to development of towns and architecture of this region during British rule. At a regional level, the discussion on various ways of reorganisation of the physical space for bringing it under the imperial net of political and economic control is generated with evidences of regional and districts maps collected from the archival sources, which, too, become part of novel contribution of this research.

The research adopts and contributes to the unique methodology of looking at the development of a town in its wider regional context, aiming to provide an understanding of the growth of a colonial town as an imperial centre. Instead of looking at a colonial town in isolation, the town form is analysed as an expression of a role of a town in a district. Furthermore, since no comprehensive historical study exists about the evolution of urban form of headquarter towns of the Punjab in relation to imperial power and economy, the thesis contribution is original. In its novelty in addressing the middle centres of imperial power and economy in the British Punjab, this research calls for attention to medium and small towns rather than capital and big cities for understanding the widespread of the imperial system throughout the landscape of Punjab.

At an architectural level, the research provides the discussion on various types of public and semi-public buildings developed in selected headquarter towns of the Punjab. The documentation of majority of these buildings is conducted for the first time through photographic surveys conducted in these towns, and forms the part of original contribution of this research. Since many of these colonial buildings of these towns are in danger due to poor conservation, neglect or complete replacement during the present post-colonial times, the contribution is timely to document the architectural heritage of an important historical era of the Punjab.

The research, ultimately, contributes to the wider understanding of how the imperial regime tamed and ordered the regional space for its own purposes in the context of the British Punjab. It provides a rich narrative and repository of historical evolution of towns and districts of the Punjab upon which the future researches can be conducted.

Research Context

This section will first indicate the main sources of literature review. It will then elaborate the research context addressed in this thesis.

Sources

The literature review conducted helped in developing understanding of the research context and identifying the gap in knowledge. This covered various sources, including the following:

- Works by scholars of various fields including historians, sociologists, economists, political scientists, architects and urban planners during the colonial and post-colonial times, about the Punjab during the British rule. Such books helped in understanding the political, and socio-economic context and history of the Punjab. These works, however, only cover the development of the urban forms of capital and big cities of the Punjab during the British times, to an extent.

- Scholarly books and articles written about the towns under study are very limited in their analysis of the urban form and describe only a few towns. However, these sources were helpful for the understanding of socio-economic and political context of these towns during the colonial times. In case of other towns, these works merely cover their pre-colonial history.

- Books by locals include the autobiographical narratives of the town, sometimes written as a literary novel. Some of these books are in native language, Urdu. These books are restricted in their critical analysis and realistic description of the town, however, are useful in giving an overview of certain towns about which there is no other scholarly work available.

- Literature available about the urban form and architecture of colonial towns, included the post-colonial studies about various colonial cities and towns in the British India, and a few scholarly studies available about the colonial cities and towns of the British Punjab.

Literature on Urban Form and Architecture of Colonial Towns

The British came to the Indian Sub-continent as traders during the early seventeenth century and settled initially in the port cities of Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. Gradually, they spread to in-land cities, acquiring the role of the colonial administrators, before the implementation of the direct crown rule in 1858. The colonial impact on these early colonial cities of the Indian subcontinent is explored by various contemporary scholars. This includes the ground breaking work of King and Home,[7] elaborating the urban development and planning of colonial cities in India. Various other scholarly works then followed including the seminal works on the colonial cities of Lucknow, Delhi, Calcutta, and Bombay,[8] mainly focusing on the early and big cities of the British Raj in Indian Sub-continent. These scholarly works provided critical analysis of these Indian cities, and covered the range of topics, including colonial urban form, imperial architectural style, and a debate on tradition and modernity in the context of old towns expanded by the British. Besides, the works of travel writers like Nilsson, Morris, and Davies,[9] are limited to discussion of monumental architecture of these early colonial cities of India. A more critical analysis of colonial architecture in British India was provided by the scholars like Metcalf, and Crinson,[10] who explored the imperial hegemony through

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[7] Anthony D. King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976). Robert Home, *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities* (London: E & FN Spon, 1997).

[8] Veena Oldenburg, *The Making of Colonial Lucknow, 1856-77* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990). Jyoti Hosagrahar, *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism* (London: Routledge, 2005). Swati Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny* (NewYork: Routledge, 2005). Preeti Chopra, *The City and Its Fragments: Colonial Bombay, 1854-1918* (California: University of California, 2003). Also see, Prashant Kidambi, *The Making of an Indian Metropolis: Colonial Governance and Public Culture in Bombay, 1890-1920* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

[9] Sten Nilsson, *European Architecture in India, 1750-1850* (London: Faber, 1968). Jan Morris with Simon Winchester, *Stones of Empire: The Buildings of the Raj* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983). Phillip Davies, *Splendours of the Raj, British Architecture in India* (London: Murray, 1985).

[10] Thomas R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (London: Faber, 1989). Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996).

architecture over the Indian masses and discussed the architectural styles for the British Raj in India. A recently published book continues with similar themes related to colonial architecture and urbanism in the British empire across the globe, however, it too is limited to big cities of the empire and their monumental architectural tradition.[11] Two other noteworthy works about the development of modern architecture from colonial to post-colonial times, address and document the buildings produced by Public Works Department (PWD) and for the quest of identity of an independent India.[12] An exceptional work in this regard is the recent doctoral study conducted by Sengupta, that instead of big cities, focuses on the urban form and architecture of the district headquarter towns of Bengal in Eastern India during the early British rule.[13]

As already noted, within the Punjab, this debate on the urban form of colonial cities and architecture of the British Punjab is limited to the capital and big cities of this region. Two main scholarly works by Vandals and Glover, critically analyse the development of Lahore during the British rule.[14] Another recent endeavour explores the architecture of Multan and Bahawalpur developed during various historical periods including British times.[15] A few studies related to towns of the Punjab, only partially discuss the development of urban form and architecture of the selected towns during the British rule. One such study, about Gujranwala and Sialkot, is focused on exploring the socio-economic effects of partition 1947 and is limited in its analysis of town form and colonial architecture.[16] The partition 1947 resulted in the migration of the religious ethnic groups across the borders, affecting the social and built environment of Punjabi towns.[17] Another recent journal article on development of Gujranwala during various historical periods partially describes the town form and architecture developed during

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[11] G. A, Bremner, ed., *Architecture and Urbanism in the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)

[12] Peter Scriver and Amit Srivastava, *India: Modern Architectures in History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015). Jon Lang, Madhavi Desai, and Miki Desai, *Architecture and Independence: Search for Identity – India, 1880 to 1980* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[13] Tania Sengupta, 'Producing the Province: Colonial Governance and Spatial Cultures in District Headquarters of Eastern Indian, 1786-c.1900' (doctoral thesis, University of Westminster, 2010)

[14] Pervaiz Vandal and Sajida Vandal, *The Raj, Lahore and Bhai Ram Singh* (Lahore: NCA Publication, 2006). William J. Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

[15] Sajida Haider Vandal, ed., *Cultural Expressions of South Punjab* (Islamabad-Lahore: UNESCO-THAAP Publication, 2011)

[16] Ilyas Chattha, *Partition and Locality: Violence, Migration, and Development in Gujranwala and Sialkot, 1947-1961* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011)

[17] Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 Tragedy through Secret British Reports and First-Person Accounts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

British rule.[18] In relation to other headquarter towns studied in this thesis, there exists seemingly no critical scholarly work that deals with the development of urban form and architecture of these towns during the British rule. The growth and expansion patterns of towns during the colonial times are ignored in the planning process of post-colonial times also due to insufficient critical knowledge available of the historical development of these towns, opines Hasan and Raza in their book on towns of Pakistan.[19] This research, thus, aims to fill in this gap of knowledge by focusing on development of urban form and architecture of the district headquarter towns of the Punjab during the British rule.

Literature related to the Colonial Punjab

Besides the limited literature available about the development of the urban form and architecture of colonial towns in the Punjab discussed above, the works of the scholars of fields other than urban planning and architecture allow an understanding of the impacts on the regional context and development of the Punjab during the British rule. The Punjab, land of five rivers, located at the crossroads of movements between India and the western regions of Asia, and thence to Europe, has a long history of cultural exchanges through trade and war. Its strategic importance as frontier region was also recognised by the British and with the rising threat of the Russian expansion in Central Asia, the possession of Punjab became vital, leading to its annexation by the British in 1849. The British rule of Punjab, brought considerable change in the historical continuity resulting in permanently altering the Punjab's geography and the rapid urbanisation of this region.[20] A few scholarly works available on impacts of agricultural colonisation in the Punjab that resulted in this transformation of the region mainly include the works of sociologists, economic and political scientists and historians. The seminal work of Ali about the Punjab's development under imperialism is an in-depth socio-economic study of canal colonisation with investigation of land distribution policies and the development of agriculture in the region.[21] Other scholarly works

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[18] Neelum Naz, and Shabih-ul-Hassan Zaidi, 'Historic Perspective of Urban Development of Gujranwala' in *Journal of Research in Architecture and Planning, NED University of Technology, Karachi* 14, Pt. 1 (Jan-Jun 2013), 21-38.

[19] Arif Hasan and Mansoor Raza, *Migration and Small Towns in Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011)

[20] Anjali G. Roy, 'Land of Five Rivers, Canal Colonies and Oceanic Flows to Southeast Asia', in *Third Critical Studies Conference* (KolKata: Academy of Fine Arts, 2009), 1-9 (p. 1).

[21] Imran Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism, 1885-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003)

explored the impacts of the agricultural colonization on rural structure of the Punjab,[22] socio-political impact of British military recruitment in the Colonial Punjab,[23] and social and political impacts of canal colonisation of West Punjab.[24] Krishan gives a detailed analysis of population increase in West Punjab due to agricultural colonisation,[25] however, the original pastoral inhabitants of the West Punjab were expelled and their lands were distributed among the new migrants.[26] Gilmartin argues that 'For the British, as much as for earlier Indus Basin states, the link between canal building, agricultural settlement, and political control was central to the construction of state power'.[27] During the process, the Punjab with its increased agricultural production was linked to the world economy, with the development of towns as imperial administrative centres and markets at district levels. This urbanisation of the Punjab together with the expansion of its old towns and planning of new towns in this overall regional development for imperial authority and control over population and agricultural produce is, however, a largely understudied area, that has become the focus of this research after the literature review.

Research Methodology

With the aspiration to contribute to the understanding of urbanisation of West Punjab during the British rule, the main purpose of this research is to engage with the debate on the evolution of a colonial town as an imperial centre for political and economic control in a region. The colonial town is viewed as an urban centre within a larger imperial system, the development of which cannot be studied and understood fully in isolation. Besides, in the context of Punjab during the British rule, the maintenance of law and order, manifestation of political authority and economic control, revenue administration and bureaucratic system, and agricultural production and distribution, contributed to the shaping of the Punjabi landscape as well as to the expansion of old

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[22] Fareeha Zafar, 'The Impact of Canal Construction on the Rural Structures of the Punjab: The Canal Colony Districts, 1880 to 1940' (doctoral thesis, University of London, SOAS, 1981)

[23] Tan Tai-Yong, 'An Imperial Home-Front: Punjab and the First World War', in *The Journal of Military History* 64, Pt. 2 (April 2000), 371-410 (p.374). Also, see Rajit K. Mazumder, 'The Making of Punjab: Colonial Power, The Indian Army and Recruited Peasants, 1849-1939' (doctoral thesis, University of London, SOAS, 2001).

[24] Hassan Javid, 'Class, Power, and Patronage: The Landed Elite and Politics in Pakistani Punjab' (doctoral thesis, The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2012)

[25] Gopal Krishan, 'Demography of the Punjab (1849-1947)', in *Journal of Punjab Studies* 11, Pt. 1 (2004), 77-89.

[26] John W. Cell, *Hailey: A Study in British imperialism, 1872-1969* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

[27] David Gilmartin, 'Scientific Empire and Imperial Science: Colonialism and Irrigation Technology in the Indus Basin', in *The Journal of Asian Studies* 53, Pt. 4 (November 1994), 1127-1149 (p. 1132).

towns and development of new urban settlements in the region. The methodology and framework adopted for this research was, therefore, to approach and study the town in its wider regional context. It began at regional level to understand the overall implementation of the imperial ways and means through which this region was developed during the colonial times. This helped to comprehend the political, socio-economic, geographical and cultural context in which these towns were developed in this region. The study then focussed on the urban scale, to understand the unfolding of the regional phenomenon on the towns' urban form. The impact of the role of the town in a district as a headquarter town as well as an imperial centre of political and economic control is central to the analysis of the urban form and architecture of a colonial town. Such a methodology assisted in understanding the development of colonial town in the wider context of appropriation of regional space by the imperial regime in the Punjab.

With this approach and aim of understanding the development of a town in its regional context, the following methods were applied to answer key research questions and achieving main research objectives:

Archival Research

The consultation of diverse sources of archival material was conducted throughout the course of this research. This served three key objectives of the study. Firstly, it served the purpose of understanding the larger historical, cultural, geographical, socio-political and economic milieu of the Punjab and its development during British rule. Secondly, the analysis of various types of regional and district maps together with texts of colonial times helped in understanding the shaping of the region's space by the imperial rulers. Thirdly, in addition to developing the understanding of the regional context, the study of archival material contributed to the understanding of the development of a town in a district as an imperial urban centre for implementing and disseminating the imperial authority at the district level. This archival research was conducted at the India Office Records and Maps Collections in British Library London throughout the years of this research, and also at the Secretariat Library of the Punjab Archives in Lahore during the fieldworks. The sources included:

- District gazetteers of the canal colony districts of the Punjab.

- Various types of official reports of the Irrigation Department, Punjab Public Works, and other governmental departments. These included the settlement reports of canal colonies, inquiry committee reports, and proceedings, etc.

- Maps of colonial times, including the various types of district maps, regional maps and town maps.

- Old photographs of buildings and towns, if and where available.

Field Surveys

Along with the archival research, the fieldwork conducted in selected towns of the Punjab became the backbone of this research. This method was used to trace the development pattern of a town's growth during the historical times. It helped to explore the specificity of each town in addition to identifying the general features among various towns. The data was collected in form of photographic images of the town's scape, streets, neighbourhoods, and buildings, and was analysed along with the personal observations made during the field surveys.

The challenges faced during the fieldwork were related mainly to the prevalent security situations in the country due to terrorist threats and incidents throughout the course of this fieldwork. The security issues were also present for visiting certain areas and buildings of colonial times that house the military and civil government offices in these towns. Besides, it was unconventional for a female to roam in streets conducting fieldwork and taking photographs and notes in towns of the Punjab due to the cultural and traditional ethos of the society, and also due to lack of tourism activity in these towns. These issues and challenges were dealt with, to some extent, by planning the fieldwork in two phases and for a longer duration, anticipating the delays and risks involved. In each town, the locals, reliable relatives and friends, were contacted that arranged for stay and travel within each town. The author's father accompanied her to almost all the towns in order to ensure her personal security. In case of places and buildings of high security like cantonments, courts, and jails, locals were contacted in advance to seek permissions for the visit. In some buildings and places, however, the permission of photography was not given and the narrative is developed only by the observation made during the permitted visits. For instance, in most of jails of these towns, the jail superintendent only permitted the visit without the photography of the prison cell blocks.

The fieldwork was conducted in two phases, from July to September 2015, and then from February to March 2016, in eight towns of the Punjab, namely, Gujranwala, Gujrat, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Sargodha, Sheikhupura, and Sialkot. Since these towns were developed as district headquarter towns by the British rulers, widespread surveys in these selected towns helped to understand the town form and architecture of the middle centres of imperial power and economy between big cities and villages of the Punjab. This method of widespread surveys in all eight headquarter towns of canal colonies resulted in a deeper understanding of diverse ways in which the imperial rulers influenced the towns of various historical backgrounds in different districts of the Punjab. It contributed towards a more rich and robust narrative while also tackling the issue of fragmentation of historical records about many of these towns. This initial fieldwork started at the end of the first year of this doctoral research, ultimately, helped to select two towns for in-depth case study analysis.

Case Studies

Although this research covers eight towns and districts of the Punjab and draws general conclusions and analysis about all of them, the case study method of selecting most suited towns for detailed analysis is utilized in order to comprehend the evolution of urban form of towns in later chapters of this thesis. This approach enriches the narrative and helps to develop in-depth understanding of development of two main types of towns as district headquarters in West Punjab during the British rule. The two towns selected for case study are: Sialkot and Lyallpur. These two towns were selected for following reasons:

- Sialkot: Firstly, this town was selected for it being an old town of pre-colonial origins. Its recorded history dates back to ancient times and it remained an important urban centre throughout history. Secondly, during the colonial times, this town was one of the earliest town developed as headquarter town of its respective district after the annexation of the Punjab in 1849. Thirdly, this town was expanded with a cantonment and a civil station that gave it the status of an important military and civil administrative centre at a district level. And finally, during the British times, new industries emerged in this town that developed it into an important industrial centre connected with world markets.

- Lyallpur: This town, on the other hand, was a new town of colonial origins developed on virgin grounds in West Punjab and became a headquarter town of an entirely new district. Unlike Sialkot, this town was developed much later during the British rule in the end years of nineteenth century and flourished in the start of the twentieth century. Besides, it was laid out as an exemplary market town with its distinguishing urban pattern having eight bazaars around a clock tower, a civil station, and a college for education and research of agriculture in the region. Lastly, during the British rule, the tremendous agricultural production of this district led to beginning of agricultural based industries in this town, that continue to flourish, enhancing its status as a significance market and industrial town even today.

These towns were studied by exploring the historical development of their urban form and architecture understood through their geography, politics and economy. The understanding of the town and its spaces was developed by investigation of its neighbourhoods, streets, and buildings including various types of public and semi-public buildings of administration and judiciary, education and religion, street mansions and monuments. These spaces are analysed in their potential to be used by both the town dwellers and by the people of the district for understanding the relation between urban form and role of a headquarter town for implementing imperial political and economic control and authority in the district.

Structure of the Thesis

In order to achieve the research aim and objectives, and to answer main research questions, the thesis is divided into two main parts with three chapters in each of these parts. Part One is related to the understanding of regional context of the Punjab and its development during British rule. It lays foundation for the reader to comprehend the more detailed analysis of urban form and architecture of selected towns in Part Two.

Part One

In its Chapter One, the historical and geographical context of the Punjab is discussed. It throws light on rich and diverse history of this region during pre-colonial times, besides highlighting the Punjab's unique geography. The region's significance is described while elaborating on account of its politics, economy, ecology and settlement throughout various historical periods. Building on this narrative, the chapter then went on to give brief history of origins of the towns and their respective districts. The chapter serves the purpose of being a preclude to set the stage for further enquiry, and aid in better grasping the development of the Punjab during colonial times in the upcoming chapters.

Chapter Two traces in more detail the development of the Punjab, its West counterpart in present day state of Pakistan in particular, during British rule. It discusses the changing policies from start of colonial rule in 1849 in the Punjab to the end of imperial rule in 1947 upon independence. While the earlier development of this region was more for political and strategic purposes through the communication and transportation networks, this region's economy, landscape and thence urbanisation was widely altered through agricultural colonisation in the last decades of nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries. The chapter explains the land distribution policies of main canal colonies established in the western *doabs* of the Punjab and analyses its physical, socio-political and economic effects.

Chapter Three focuses on the analysis of the ways in which the British were able to reorganise the regional space in West Punjab. Various means of appropriating the landscape for achieving the imperial purposes of political and economic control and order are discussed with regional maps from archives. This included the measurement and demarcation of the wider lands of the Punjab, making of new districts, and changing of the headquarter towns. The role of town as imperial centre is linked within this overall regional development; an urban centre exerting control and order over the countryside at a district level. It further elaborates the importance of infrastructural development of the region in facilitating a town's role in the district.

Part Two

This part, in three chapters, will attempt to answer the core research questions about the development of the urban form of old and new headquarter towns from early British rule to later times, alongside their colonial architecture.

Chapter Four covers the old Punjabi towns and how these towns were expanded with new cantonments and civil stations beyond their walled settlements for serving the role of headquarter towns in their respective districts. The chapter discusses the development of all five Punjabi towns of pre-colonial origins during the British times, highlighting their common and salient features. With this generalised discussion, the chapter then goes into a detailed analysis of one town, Sialkot, as a case study, to elaborate its transformation and evolution of its urban form during the colonial times in relation to its role in the district as a headquarter town.

Planning of entirely new towns on the virgin grounds of the Punjab during British rule is the focus of Chapter Five. It investigates various political and economic imperatives of the British influencing the urban form. The generalised discussion on development of three new towns is followed by a comprehensive examination of one town as a case study; Lyallpur. The laying out of new towns and their urban form is analysed with fieldwork surveys, town maps, and archival research in addition to literature review.

Chapter Six deals with the architecture of public and semi-public buildings developed in the selected eight towns of the Punjab that facilitate the town's role and influences its urban form. These various types of colonial buildings include the administrative and judicial buildings, infrastructural and recreational buildings, educational and religious buildings, monumental buildings, and semi-public buildings of towns' bazars. Since these buildings are neglected with poor or no conservation and are in constant threat of complete demolition due to rebuilding and commercialization during the present post-colonial times, this chapter also serves to document these colonial buildings found in the studied towns of the Punjab.

In addition to two main parts of the thesis having six chapters, there are seven appendices attached to this thesis in its Volume II. The first four appendices have the district maps collected from the archives, enriching the thesis with additional documentary evidences from the colonial era. Last three appendices helps in documenting the colonial buildings of the studied towns and become the part of original contribution of this thesis.

The conclusion of thesis discusses the research findings and gives concluding remarks about the impact of British rule on urbanisation of the Punjab. It reiterates the importance of British rule as a historical era bringing unprecedented transformation and development. Further, it concludes the significance of studying a town in its wider regional context, emphasizing the influence of imperial imperatives of political and economic control on the development of regional space and urban form and architecture of the headquarter towns entrenching them as imperial urban centres of middle tier of the system at district level between big cities and small towns and villages. The conclusion also throws light on the present situation of the region, and gives recommendations for future research.

PART ONE: URBANISATION OF WEST PUNJAB AND THE REORGANIZATION OF REGIONAL SPACE

Chapter 1: Historical and Geographical Overview

Chapter 2: Colonial Policies and Development of the Punjab

Chapter 3: Shaping the Districts for Imperial Purposes

1 . Historical and Geographical Overview

Chapter 1 of Thesis

1.1 Introduction

The Punjab, land of five rivers, was a major region of the North India, possession of which was deemed necessary by the British in order to control not only North India but also the north western frontiers and Afghanistan. However, the aspirations of seizing this region were realised much later, and the Punjab became one of the last regions to be conquered by the British in 1849. The Punjab then remained under colonial rule till the end of Empire Rule in India upon independence 1947. Nevertheless, prior to the colonial rule of almost a century, the region was not unaccustomed to the invasions and conquests of its land by foreign rulers, because of its geographical and strategic position in North India that has given it the historic status of being the gateway to India from the Central Asia from the time immemorial. Before British rule, this vast and diverse region of the Punjab has a long and complex history of conquest, as well as of urbanisation, dating back to the Indus Civilization. This chapter will outline the brief history of the Punjab, of its western *doabs* in particular, during the pre-colonial times. The narrative in this chapter will serve as a preamble for the discussion on the development of this region during the colonial times in the next subsequent chapters. In the first section of this chapter, the Punjab and its development during the pre-colonial times will be briefly discussed, in an attempt to bring to light its strategic importance, politics and economy, ecology and urban settlements throughout the pre-colonial history. In the second section, the discussion will be focused on the origins and brief history of the selected eight towns and districts for the study in this thesis. Based on fieldwork conducted, in terms of photographic documentation, together with archival references and the literature review, the chapter will briefly introduce these districts and their headquarter towns under study as they stand today together with the brief account of their pre-colonial past, and will set the stage for further inquiry in the remaining chapters of this thesis.

1.2 Punjab in Pre-colonial Times

Today, the region of Punjab, partitioned, is divided between two countries. Upon independence in 1947, its eastern part became the part of India in its present day states of Punjab and Haryana, and its western part became the part of Pakistan in its present day provinces of Punjab and NWFP (North Western Frontier Province). In history, however, this whole region was a vast and diverse land, spreading all the way from city of Delhi in the east to the north western borders with Afghanistan, lying on the west of the Indo-Gangetic plains of the Indian Sub-continent. This region is famous for its unique geography of being the land of rivers, the feature that also gave it its various names throughout its history. Its present name *Punjab*, meaning land of five rivers, is a combination of the Persian words '*Punj*' means five, and '*ab*' means water; the five rivers of this land being Rivers of Beas, Sutlej, Ravi, Chenab and Jhelum. The Greek name for the region is *Pantapotamia*, which again means land of five rivers, each river also having a Greek name. In the Ramayana and Mahabharata too, the region is named as *Panchanada*, a Sanskrit word that also meant the land of five rivers. This region was, however, referred to as *Sapta Sindhu* in old Vedic texts, that translates as the land of seven rivers.[1] The two additional rivers referred in Vedic texts are supposedly the dried out ancient rivers of Saraswati-Hakra (presently the River Ghaggar), which are often found in the oral tradition of poetry and literature of this region, or may also include the various tributaries of the River Sindhu (presently the River Indus). All its various rivers have distinct Sanskrit names in Vedic texts with numerous stories associated with their origins in this region. These rivers also influenced the ecology and urban pattern in the region during pre-historical and historical times.

In addition to the physical feature of rivers giving the region its unique names, the location of the Punjab in North India, gave this region its significance as being the gateway to India from Central Asia and all the way to Europe throughout its history. It is bound on the North by the Kingdom of Jammu and Kashmir, on the South by the province of Sindh, on the East by the Indo-Gangetic plains of the Indian Sub-continent, and the West by the North Frontiers region and Afghanistan (see Figure 1.1). This characteristic of the Punjab also subjected it to continual invasions and external interventions with periods of peace and order, giving this region a rich and diverse history and culture.

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[1] Abdul Rehman, *Historic Towns of Punjab: Ancient and Medieval Period* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1997), pp. 19-20.

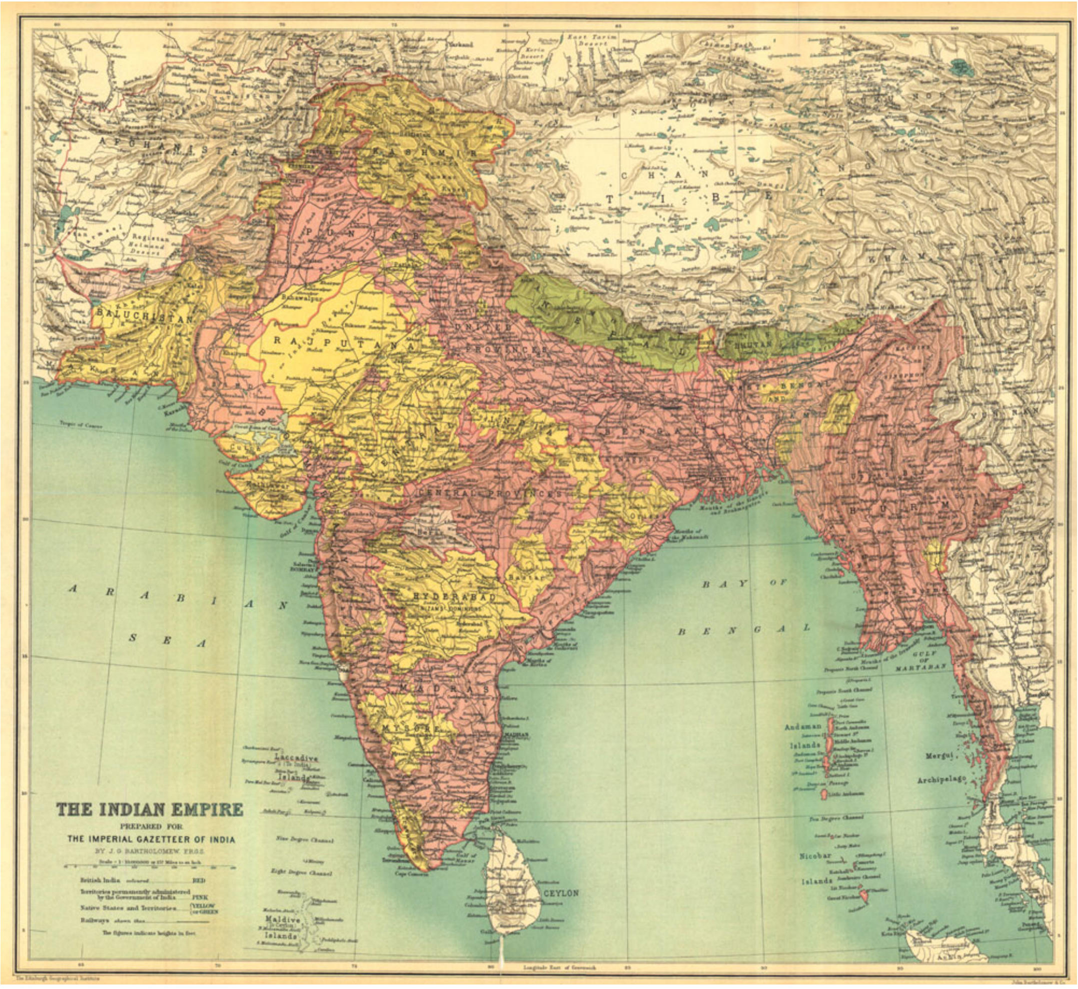

Figure 1.1 Map of the Indian Empire, showing the Punjab with its surrounding regions and provinces.[2]

1.2.1 Politics and Economy

The known history of this region goes back to the times of Indus Valley Civilization that flourished on its land from around c.5000 BC, in parallel with other ancient civilizations including Mesopotamia, Egypt, Maya, around the world during the ancient times. The people of the Indus are considered the aboriginals or indigenous people of this land that lived in the urban centres from around c.2600 to 1700 BC during the Mature and Late Harappan Period. The basis of the civilization rested on agriculture, for which the water was extracted from rivers through canals and dams. They also established trade with not only within the Indian Sub-continent but also with the other civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt as well. The next phase in history that we know about, according to the Aryan Theory, saw people coming from the Central Asia and settling down in the Indo-

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[2] *Map of the Indian Empire*, from Imperial Gazetteer of India 1909 (Digital South Asian Library, University of Chicago), online <http://dsal.uchicago.edu/maps/gazetteer/index.html>, [accessed on 16 September 2018].

Gangetic plains in around c.1500 to 500 BC. Unlike the Indus and Harappan civilizations, the Aryans were a pastoral based society of warriors and tribes that also wrote the Vedic literature and composed the *rags* (notes) of the classical music. What came out of ancient history is then the series of Chiefdoms and Kingdoms during c.1200 to 600 BC of Neolithic and Chalcolithic cultures. One prominent incident during that time was the rise of a new religion propagated by the Gautama Buddha during the sixth and fifth centuries BC. It flourished particularly in the reign of Ashoka, a Mauryan King, c. 268 to 231 BC, who established his authority through various cities and towns that he developed with Buddhist centres in the region.[3] This Buddhist culture amalgamated with the foreign culture of the Greeks into a new Indo-Greek culture in what known as the Gandhara Civilization, whose prominent city was Taxila in the Punjab. The precursor of this Greek invasion dates back to c. 327 to 325 BC when Alexander the Great, marched with his armies in the riverine plains of the Punjab and fought the battle with the local Raja Porus in the Salt Ranges of the Punjab, but he turned back from the River Beas.[4] This Indo-Greek rule (c. 180 to 150 BC) was followed by the rule of various kingdoms, including Shaka Kingdom, and Kingdom of Kalinga from around c. 94 to 50 BC. The Punjab increased its trade with the Greeks and Romans during these times.

During medieval times, rulers of Kushana and Gupta dynasties dominated in the Indian Sub-continent from the first century AD to around seventh century AD.[5] The northern Punjab was under the Kingdoms of Hindu Shahiya dynasties between the seventh and tenth centuries AD. The southern Punjab, however, witnessed a new rule, and came under the influence of the Islamic rulers of the Arabic origins. The Arabs conquest of the Sind took place in the start of the eighth century, around 712 AD with the invasion of Muhammad bin Qasim, who brought the Muslim Rule till Dipalpur in the Punjab.[6] The Muslim Rule strengthened further under the Sultanate period that then followed, starting with the Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni who officially annexed the Punjab including its capital Lahore in 1023 AD during his conquest of Indian Sub-continent, followed by the Ghori, Slave/Tartar, Khilji, Toghlak, Syeds and Lodhi Dynasties of

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[3] Romila Thapar, *The Penguin History of Early India: From the Origins to AD 1300* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2002), pp. 31-32, 79-88, 137-208.

[4] Abdul Rehman, *Historic Towns of Punjab: Ancient and Medieval Period* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1997), pp. 26-27.

[5] Thapar, pp. 209-325.

[6] Rehman, p. 27.

Afghan and Central Asian origins.[7] During the Sultanate Period, the kingdom ruled from the throne of Delhi. Other than the agricultural basis of society, Sufi saints spread the message of Islam in the Punjab during this time, and mosques and tombs emerged as a result in several towns of the Punjab, prominently at the towns of Multan and Uch Sharif of the South Punjab.[8]

Among the Muslim rulers of India, the most glorious and celebrated are the Mughals of Turkish-Mongol origins, who claimed their descendance from Genghis Khan and Amir Timur. The Mughals first came to power in India when Zahir-ud-Din Babar took over the throne of Delhi Sultanate after defeating Ibrahim Lodhi in the battle of Panipat in 1526. His son, Nasir-ud-Din Humayun, followed in the footsteps of his father; however, his first reign was cut short by Sher Shah Suri. Sher Shah Suri is accredited in history for his famous contributions in the Punjab including, Grand Trunk Road, laying town of Bhera, and Rohtas Fort along Grand Trunk Road. Nasir-ud-Din Humayun re-captured the Delhi throne again in 1555. However, it was his son, Jalal-ud-Din Akbar who is accredited for consolidating the Mughal kingdom in Indian Sub-continent.[9] Akbar also briefly shifted the Mughal capital from Delhi to Lahore. Other than various other contributions of buildings and towns, Akbar also extended the Grand Trunk Road all the way to Peshawar. The Punjab during his time, witnessed peace and prosperity, with the monarch accepting the diversity and co-existence of people with different faith, caste and race.[10] His descendants, Nur-ud-Din Jahangir, Shahab-ud-Din Shah Jahan, followed in his footsteps, ruled the region of Punjab through their appointed *nizams* (governors), by dividing it into two *subas* (provinces): Lahore and Multan[11] (discussed in detail in Chapter 3). Agriculture and pastoral tribal sections of the society were giving taxes to the Mughal monarch. Mughal authority in the Punjab, however, started declining during the reign of the Mughal emperor Muhy-un-Din Aurangzeb, who is famous in history for his extreme Islamic doctrine of ruling the empire, which invited rebellions.

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[7] Syed Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab: From the Remotest Antiquity to the Present Time* (Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2009), pp. 77-121.

[8] Rajmohan Gandhi, *Punjab: A History from Aurangzeb to Mountbatten* (New Delhi: Aleph Book Company, 2013), pp. 27-31.

[9] Latif, pp. 122-175.

[10] Gandhi, pp. 33-36.

[11] Rehman, p. 25.

In the declining Mughal authority in the region of the Punjab, a new local force was rising under the Sikh religion in the Punjab. Guru Nanak, born in 1469 AD, is the founder of the new religion in the Punjab. His teachings were then carried on by the descendants of Sikh Gurus. From among the Sikh Gurus, Guru Gobind Singh created the Sikh Khalsa, which were the groups of warriors. These Sikh Khalsa ruled the majority of the Punjab in the declining Mughal power in this region during the eighteenth century. This period also witnessed invasions from outside, for instance, the famous invasion of Afghan ruler Nadir Shah.[12] The peace and order, however, prevailed during the most prominent of the Sikh rulers of the Punjab, Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Singh consolidated his rule by making allies with the British and also by keeping European generals in his army. During his reign, the Sikh Kingdom of the Punjab expanded and outstretched to its maximum. Born in Gujranwala, Ranjit Singh ruled the Sikh Kingdom from capital city of Lahore, till his death in 1839. The Punjab experienced the continuity of governance and economy from the Mughal times, during the Sikh Rule as well, with two *subas* Lahore and Multan (discussed in detail in Chapter 3). The Sikh authority in the region was, thereafter, largely challenged by the British leading to two Anglo-Sikh wars that resulted in the formal annexation of the Punjab and its Lahore Darbar by the British in 1849.

1.2.2 Ecology and Urban Settlements

Before the 1947 partition, the Punjab was a huge and vast land, spanning from the imperial capital of Delhi in the East to Peshawar in borders with the Afghanistan towards the West, and from Jammu and Kashmir in the North all the way through the river valleys in the Central Punjab to the borders of Sindh in the South. The region was also diverse with its various ecological zones, ranging from the sub-montane tracts through the river plains to the semi-desert areas. Gosal describes the physical geography of the Punjab, giving it a unique geographical and historical significance as well as history and culture. The region is bound on the north by mountain ranges and on the south by deserts. The invaders from north-west enter the region following the routes through the passes among the mountain ranges, including the Bolan Pass, Khyber Pass and Gomal Pass. The rivers of the Punjab originating from the mountains in the north, bring down the silt, adding to the fertility of the Punjab's plains.[13] Banga indicates four main and

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[12] Gandhi, pp. 46-98.

[13] G.S. Gosal, 'Physical Geography of the Punjab', in *Journal of Punjab Studies* 11, Pt. 1 (no date), 19-37 (pp. 19-21).

distinct ecological zones of the Punjab, including tracts east and west of the Punjab's capital city of Lahore. The tracts of land between rivers, are called *doabs*, namely, the Bist Jalandhar Doab, Bari Doab, Rachna Doab, Chaj/Jech Doab, and Sind Sagar Doab, shown in Figure 1.2, and Figure 1.3. These were further sub-divided into south-western river valleys and north-western hilly tracts. The *bars* (the dry uplands) of western tracts, consisted of Ganji Bar and Nili Bar in the Lower Bari Doab, Sandal Bar in the lower Rechna Doab, Kirana Bar in the Chaj/Jech Doab, and the Thal in the lower Sind Sagar Doab. In the pre-colonial times, the land use, land rights, agricultural activity, economy and living styles, were in accordance with the climate and natural resources of each zone.[14]

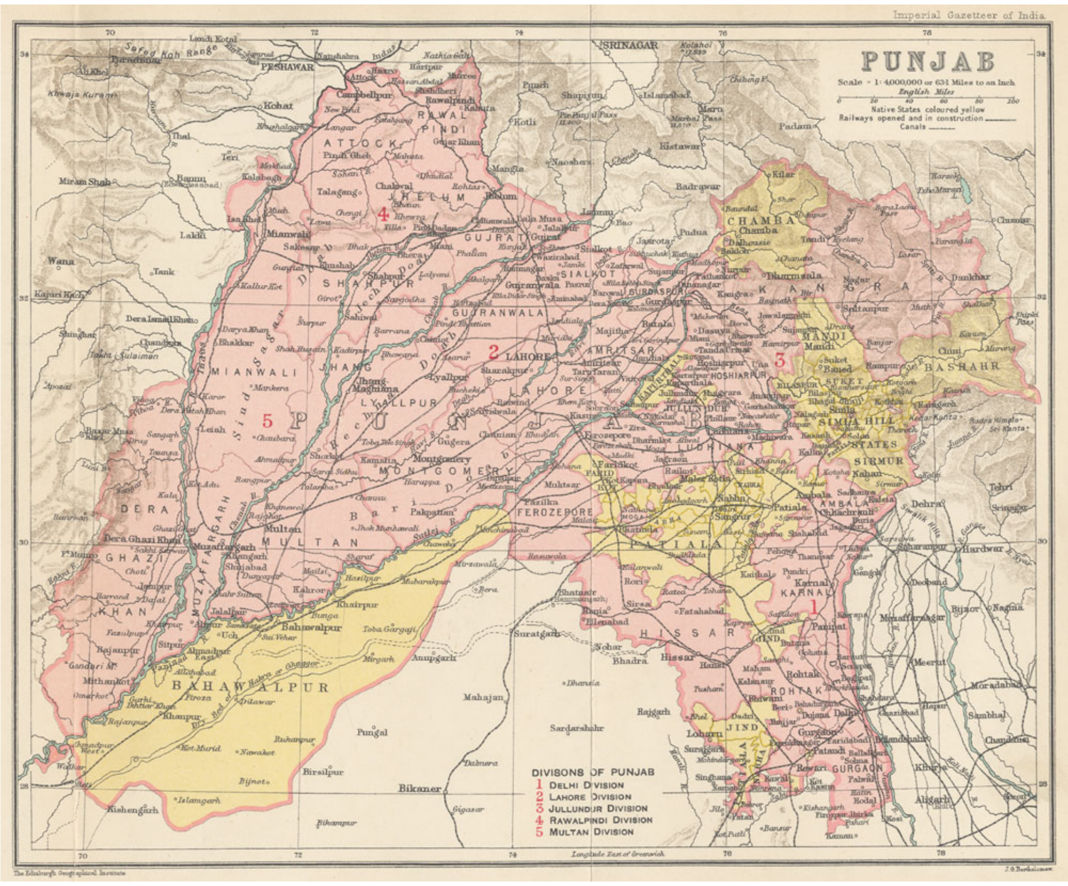

Figure 1.2 Map of Punjab, 1909, showing its main *doabs* and divisions.[15]

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[14] Indu Banga, 'Ecology and Land Rights in the Punjab', in *Journal of Punjab Studies* 11, Pt. 1 (no date), 59-76 (pp. 60-61, 65-66).

[15] *Map of the Punjab*, from Imperial Gazetteer of India 1909, (Digital South Asian Library, University of Chicago), online <http://dsal.uchicago.edu/maps/gazetteer/index.html>, [accessed on 16 September 2018].

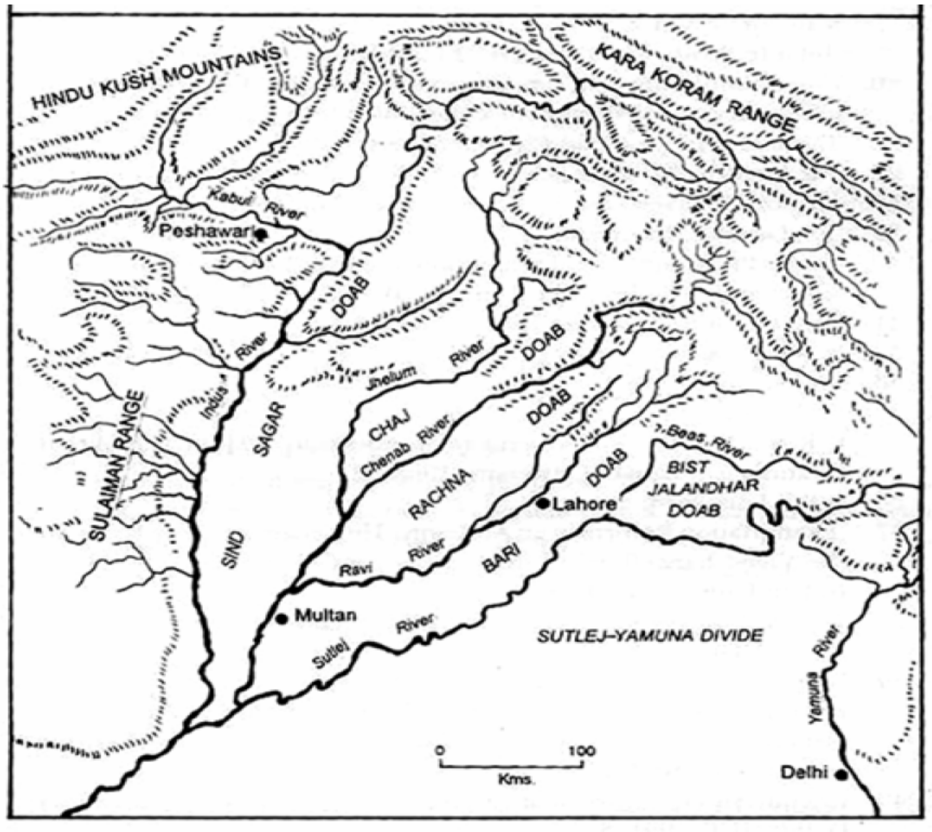

Figure 1.3 Map showing the five *doabs* of the Punjab.[16]

The geography, climate, and the fertility of the land of Punjab influenced the evolution of the urban settlements in this region throughout its history. This region witnessed its first urbanisation during the Indus Valley Civilization, including the ancient city of Harappa, near the new town of Montgomery.[17] See Figure 1.4 for the sites of Mature Indus Period. The settlement during this time were mainly present in the areas east of the river Ravi and in the Sutlej-Jumna divide, for the western tracts were arid and barren with unfavourable conditions for agriculture and large settlements. Mostly the village settlements were located in the western *doabs* of the Punjab. During the early historical times, between c. 700 to 300 AD, in the times of Mauryan Empire, Kushanas, the Indo-Greek Gandhara Civilization, and Post-Gupta times, the urban centres concentrated in the Sutlej-Jamuna divide and also extended to the north-western part of the Punjab. Some new towns that emerged in the Punjab region during this second phase of urbanisation, acted as political and trade centres as well as religious and educational centres, including the towns of Sakala (Sialkot), Takshasila (Taxila) and Peshawar (Purusapura).The third phase of urbanisation of this region, during the Medieval times,

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[16] Banga, p. 60.

[17] Rehman, p. 29-38.

from eleventh to seventeenth centuries, the Punjab was influenced by the coming of the Muslim rulers from Central Asia, the Delhi Sultanate period and later the Mughal Rule. New towns arose not only in the north-western parts but also mainly in the upper *doabs*. This included the towns of Lahore, Multan, Uchh, Kasur, Khushab, Pind Dadan Khan, Shahpur, Rawalpindi, Bhakkar, Attock, Wazirabad, Dipalpur, Gujrat, Panipat, and Eminabad. These towns were of varying sizes, acting as political, economic and learning centres. During the Mughal times, the Punjab was the third most urbanised region, when several of its existing towns revived and many new towns emerged, including the towns of Bhera, Pakpattan, Rohats, Ludhiana, Sheikhupura, Sodhra, Chiniot, Daska, Lahore, Jalalpur, Wazirabad, and Gujrat. See Figure 1.5 for the sites of urban settlements in the Punjab during the sixteenth century. With the rise of the Sikh rule in the Punjab during eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, new towns emerged while several other revived in the increasing trade activity between the trade route from Peshawar to Jammu. These towns included the towns of Kapurthala, Gujrat, Gujranwala, Batala, Patiala, Jhang, Sialkot, Lahore, Bhera, Jalalpur, Daska, Narowal, Zafarwal, Dipalpur, Amritsar, and Kasur.[18] During the medieval times, too, the lower parts of the western *doabs*, its *bars* (uplands) in particular, remained devoid of large urban centres, mostly occupied by the pastoral tribes with rural settlements. This, however, changed during the colonial times, when the new British rulers established new urban centres also in the lower parts of the western *doabs*, which were made irrigable with the new canal networks during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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[18] Reeta Grewal, 'Urban Patterns in the Punjab Region since Protohistoric Times', in *Journal of Punjab Studies 20,* Pt. 1&2 (no date), 273-299 (pp. 274-288).

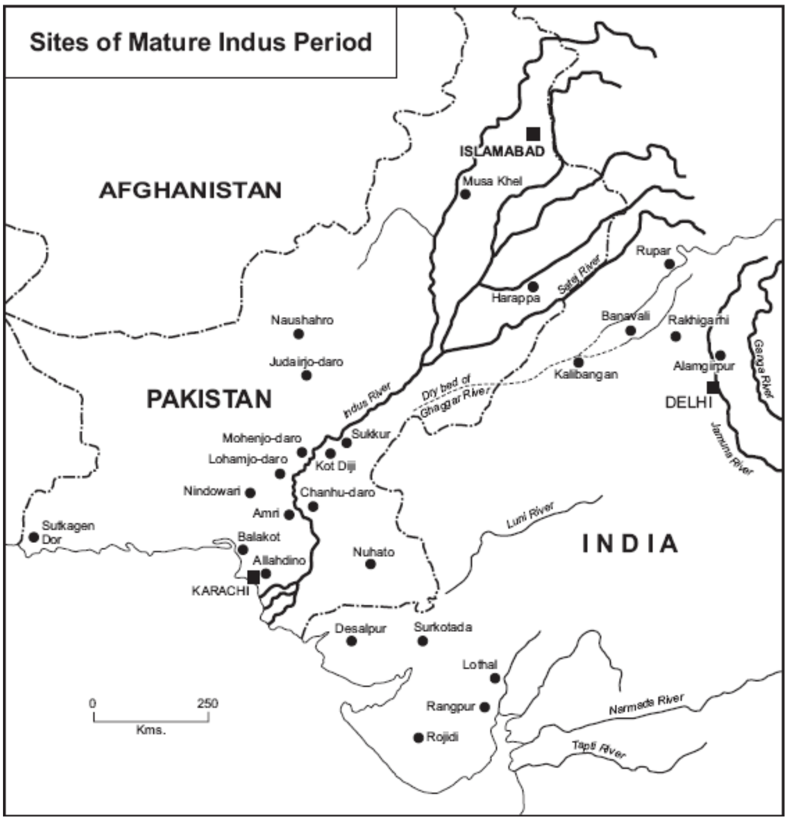

Figure 1.4 Map showing the sites of Mature Indus Period.[19]

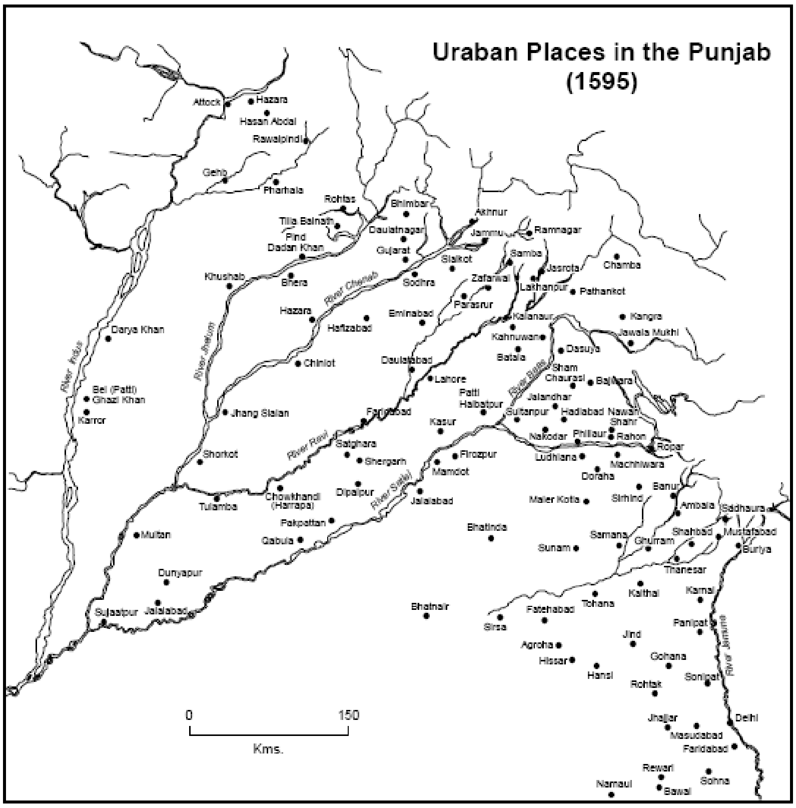

Figure 1.5 Map showing the urban sites in the Punjab, 1595.[20]

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[19] Grewal, ibid., p.275.

[20] Grewal, ibid., p.283.

1.3 Overview of Towns under Study

This section of the chapter will introduce the selected towns and districts under study by looking at the history of their origins, also briefly touching on their colonial development and present situation in post-colonial times. While the five of these towns, namely Sialkot, Gujranwala, Gujrat, Jhang, and Sheikhupura, originated in various historical periods during pre-colonial times, the other three towns – Montgomery, Sargodha and Lyallpur – were laid out as entirely new towns on the virgin grounds during colonial times. For introducing these towns, this section will locate each town in its respective district (see Figure 1.6 for location of these districts). It will then briefly describe the origin of each town in the history, through the archival research, literature review, and photographic survey conducted during the fieldwork in these towns.

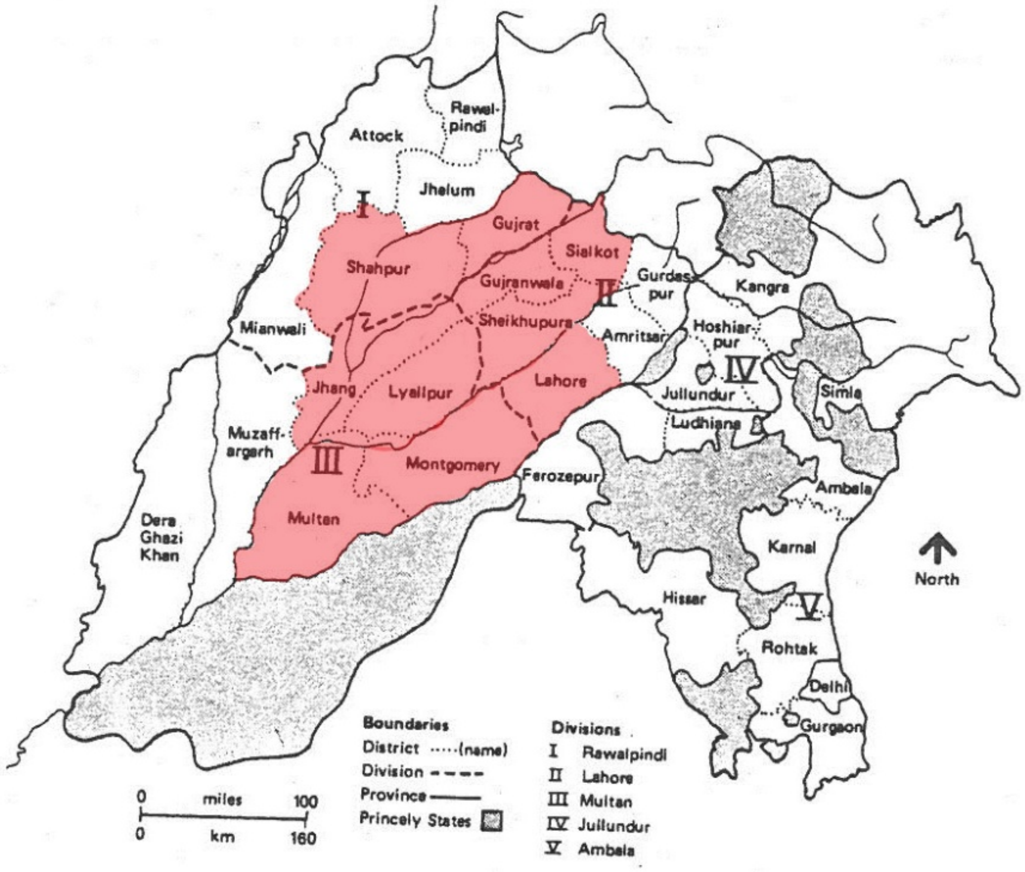

Figure 1.6 Map of Punjab, 1947, showing the districts under study.[21]

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[21] Imran Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism, 1885-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 1.

1.3.1 Sialkot

Sialkot is the headquarter town of the District Sialkot, which during colonial times was one of the overcrowded districts of the Punjab. The last census of the district during the colonial times in 1941 recorded its population of 1,190 thousand.[22] Today, the population of this district is more than three times what it was during colonial times, and the latest census of 2017 has recorded a population of about 3,893,672 in this district.[23] This district of the Lahore Division is located in the upper Rechna Doab, interfluvial land between two rivers Ravi and Chenab. It was a canal colony and military recruitment district during the colonial times that mainly included the land settlements of the canal colony 'Upper Chenab' (1915-1919), this canal colony is discussed in Chapter 2. On the north, the district has the states of Jammu and Kashmir, while the districts of Gujranwala and Sheikhupura exists on its south. On the eastern side, there are districts of Gurdaspur and Amritsar, while the district of Gujrat shares the boundary with this district towards its western side (see Figure 1.6). Sialkot District is mostly plain, and has Bajwat tract (inland delta of the river Chenab), and the riverine of the Chenab, Ravi and Degh Nullah. Several other natural resources of rivers and *nullahs* (water streams) crossed the district in the direction of north-east to south-west, including the Palku Nullah and Aik Nullah in the vicinity of the walled town of Sialkot (see Figure 1.7).[24] The headquarter of this district is located at the old town of Sialkot that originated in the pre-colonial times.

Although the earlier history of Sialkot is much of a mystery due to fragmented records, the following historical narrative of the town's origin and evolution during the various pre-historical and historical periods before the British rule is assembled based on a literature review of certain key writings. One of the main resources is a monograph about the history of Sialkot by Khan[25] (1964), giving brief description of the town's history, and it is widely quoted by the contemporary scholars. The other key writings that helped to develop understanding of the town's evolution in history include books

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[22] Gopal Krishan, 'Demography of the Punjab (1849-1947)', in *Journal of Punjab Studies* 11, Pt. 1 (2004), 77-89 (p. 87).

[23] *District and Tehsil Level Population Summary with Region Breakup*, (Population Census 2017, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics), online <http://www.pbscensus.gov.pk/sites/default/files/bwpsr/punjab/SIALKOT_SUMMARY.pdf>, [accessed on 19 September 2018].

[24] D. J. Boyd, *Final Report of the Fourth Settlement of the Sialkot District, 1915* (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, Punjab, 1918), accessed at India Office Record Collection, British Library London, bookshelf no. W 1407, p.1.

[25] Ahmed N. Khan, *Sialkot: An Ancient City of Pakistan: A Monograph on the History of the Town prepared from Original Sources* (Lahore: The Punjabi Adabi Academy, 1964), p. 5.

by Rehman[26] (1997), and Chattha[27] (2011). The legend identifies origins of Sialkot as a town of Harappan times. Tracing back the history to the time of the Mahabharata and Ramayana, Sialkot was a large city (a metropolis) of the Bahika country of the Mahabharata, and the capital of the Punjab during the times of Ramayana. The earliest reference of Sialkot is found in the great epic of Mahabharata, in which Raja Sul or Shal or Shaliva, the maternal uncle of Pandavas, was described as the founder of Sialkot. Another legend, however, goes to a Yadava Prince Saliwahan of the reign of Vikramaditiya of Ujjain, who captured Sialkot and built a fort here. The birth of Raja Saliwahan is full of mystery. According to one myth, he was a son of serpent called Basak Nag, who wooed a Khatrani girl bathing in the Aik Nullah of Sialkot. The child then born was Saliwahan, who rose to power and wealth and ruled Sialkot (see Figure 1.7 for Aik Nullah).[28] However, as noted by Rehman, the research of Cunningham (during colonial times) pointed to Saliwahan being the son of a Yadava ruler who lost his life in a battle with Indo-Scythians. His young son, Prince Saliwahan, established a new capital at Salbahanpur, identified with Sialkot. Rehman, in his book, has argued that since Raja Saliwahan defeated the Indo-Scythians in a battle at Karor, 78 AD is fixed as initial year of Saka era founded in honour of the victory, the foundation of Sialkot may be placed with some accuracy to about 65 or 70 AD.[29]

Sialkot was originally named as 'Sakala' or 'Sagala' in the ancient writings, a capital town of the Madras tribe. This tribe is sometimes classed as barbarians, who entered India before the Iranian invasion. According to Tarn, quoted by Khan, the name 'Sagala' does not appear to be Indian. It was a Saka town. The present name 'Sialkot' is, however, said to be related to its founder, a Hindu Raja, and it means the 'Fort of Saliwahan'. Sialkot thrived as a metropolis during the long 1500-year rule of this dynasty. However, a disastrous flood afterwards left the city in ruins, only to be rebuilt after a long time by a Hindu tribal ruler, Sum Dutt.[30] See Figure 1.8 for the remains of the fortification wall.

According to the chronicles of Alexander the Great, the whole country was divided into small lands governed by local Rajas. The territory of Sagala/Sialkot was ruled by powerful Kshattriyas. It was a fortified town and was the main political and military

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[26] Rehman, pp. 84-91.

[27] Ilyas Chattha, *Partition and Locality: Violence, Migration, and Development in Gujranwala and Sialkot, 1947-1961* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 46-52.

[28] Khan, pp.1-2.

[29] Rehman, p. 84.

[30] Khan, pp.1-2.

centre, well defended by a fortified wall and a swamp. In 326 BC, when Alexander the Great defeated the Paurava Chief of Hydespes, the Kshattriyas fought from the Fort of Sagala. Eventually, however, the City of Sagala/Sialkot was captured by Alexander in about 326 BC. The city once again thrived under the reign of Chandra Gupta Maurya of Mauryan Empire, while Asoka made it a Buddhist centre. With the end of Mauryan Empire in c. 184 BC, the rule of the Sungas under Pusyamitra began. Pusyamitra campaigned to smash all the Buddhist centres and followers, offering a reward of gold piece for the head of every monk. He was defeated by Menander, one of the generals of Demetrius. Menander not only occupied the City of Sagala, but also became a champion of Buddhism in India. He is identified with Malinda, the Greek King of Sagala, who made Sagala his capital and built a Greek palace here, but Tarn, quoted by Khan, differed saying it is unlikely. During his reign, however, the city had flourished as a religious, political and social centre, with thousands of saints and devotees. He also installed a mint here for minting his coins. For next few centuries, no historical records are found about the city, until the first part of sixth century AD, when the country came under the influence of the White Huns. Mihiragula raised the city as his capital.[31]

The next few centuries remain obscure until the Muslim rule. In tenth century, the city was involved in political activities and was ruled by a Brahman Raja who made it his capital due to the fear of invasion on Lahore from Kabul. At this time, Mahmud of Ghazna (938-1030 AD) invaded the country and captured Sialkot. When the Ghurid ruler, Shihabud Din Mohammad marched to defeat Khusrau Shah, descendent of Mahmud of Ghazna at Lahore in 1184 AD, he visited Sialkot and appointed a governor here, also ordering the repair of the Fort of Sagala. Khusrau Malik with local Ghakkars captured the Fort after the Ghauri's return but his rule was short-lived and when Ghauri came to Lahore in 1185 AD, he was arrested. Next came the reign of Tughluqs (1320-1413 AD). According to Firishta and other Muslim historians, quoted by Khan, a Hindu Raja Sahanpal ruled the city at that time.[32] Raja Sahanpal wanted to rule independently and started terrorising the Muslim subjects. In reaction, Feroze Shah Tughluq (1325-1351 AD), ruler of Delhi, sent an army under the command of Imam Ali ul Haq, a renowned saint. The army first defeated the ruler of Jagatpur, Raja's brother Jagatpal,

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[31] Khan, ibid., pp. 4-7.

[32] Khan, ibid., pp. 4-7.

captured that city and then fought a furious battle before defeating the Raja Sahanpal and eventually captured the Fort of Sagala/Sialkot.

Figure 1.7 Nullah Aik, Sialkot.[33]

Figure 1.8 Remains of Fort, Sialkot.[34]

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[33] Photograph by Author.

[34] Photograph by Author.

With the start of Mughal times, the historical records become clearer about the City of Sialkot. It emerged as an important commercial as well as an intellectual centre during Mughal rule. Babur came to invade India in 1524 AD on the invitation of Daulat Khan Lodi, governor of the Punjab, to overthrow the Lodi King of Delhi. Babur captured Lahore, Depalpur, and Sialkot, and appointed his governors there. Khusrau Khan Kokaltash, an army general, became the governor of Sialkot, without any resistance or violence from the residents of Sialkot. Daulat Khan was made the governor of Jullundur and Sultanpur. However, being unsatisfied with this arrangement, he occupied Depalpur instead after Babur left for Kabul, and advanced towards Sialkot. In 1525 AD, Babur sent Amir Abdul Aziz with a large force and re-captured Sialkot Fort and gave it to Khusrau Khan Kokaltash. Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 AD) visited the city in 1585 AD after returning from Kashmir. He visited two tombs; of Imam Ali ul Haq, famous saint of Sialkot and a general of Tughluq period, and Shah Muhammad Hamza Ghaus, another renowned saint, and awarded several villages for the maintenance of the *dargah* (shrine) (see Figure 1.9). Akbar gave the *parganah* of Sialkot in the Jagir of Raja Man Singh, who also built a mausoleum of the Saint Shah Muhammad Hamza Ghaus.[35] Besides, Mullah Kamal, a renowned scholar of Akbar's reign, built his *madrassa* (ancient religious learning centre) in the city where he educated several famous scholars, including Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, Maulana Abdul Hakim Sialkoti, and Nawab Saadullah Khan.[36] Sandra Khan was awarded Sialkot by the Mughal Emperor Jahangir (1605-1627 AD), who repaired the fort and added several buildings in it. The city rose to military importance during the rule of Emperor Shahjahan (1628-1657 AD). Sialkot at that time was a literary and an intellectual centre too. One of the famous scholars of this time was Maulana Abdul Hakim Sialkoti.[37] Rahmat Khan became the governor of Sialkot during the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707 AD).[38]

Nawab Zakariya Khan Bahadur was the governor of Lahore and Sialkot during the reign of Farrukh Siyar (1713-1719 AD), who divided the last named *parganah* into four *mahals*: Gakkhar, Sambarial, Mankiwala, and Bhalwal, and the importance of the city of Sialkot was reduced to an extent that it became a dependency of Lahore. During the reign of Ahmad Shah Durrani (1744-1773 AD), in 1748 AD, Mir Mannu (Mo'in-ul-Mulk) agreed to pay revenue to him for four *mahals* of Lahore: Gujrat, Sialkot,

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[35] Khan, pp. 7-9.

[36] Rehman, p. 86.

[37] Khan, pp. 10-11.

[38] Rehman, p. 86.

Pasrur, and Aurangabad. Mir Mannu, however, betrayed him and Ahmad Shah again returned from Kabul, defeated Mir Mannu and resumed his authority in the Punjab. A local Pathan family governed the affairs of Sialkot during this time, however, with the gradual rising of the Sikh power, the city was captured by a group of Bhangi Sikh leaders. Jit Singh became the governor of Sialkot. Diwan Muhkam Chand, army general of Ranjit Singh (1792-1839 AD) captured Sialkot in 1807 AD. Ranjit Singh came to the city himself and appointed Hukma Singh the governor of the *parganah* and gave it in the *jagir* (estate) of his two sons, Kashmira Singh and Pashora Singh. The city lost its glory, and was reduced to an ordinary city during this time.[39] The famous Gurdwara Babe-di-Bari is also located in this town (see Figure 1.10 and Figure 1.11).

Sialkot then came under the British rule when Punjab was annexed in 1849, and was made the headquarter town of the one of the earliest districts made in the Upper Rechna Doab. Sialkot was expanded with a cantonment and civil station that transformed its urban form and role in the district as a headquarter town. The colonial development of Sialkot is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, while its colonial architecture is discussed in Chapter 6.

Figure 1.9 Shrine of Saint Imam Sahib, Sialkot.[40]

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[39] Khan, pp. 13-15.

[40] Photograph by Author.

Figure 1.10 Gurdwara Babe-di-Bari, Sialkot.[41]

Figure 1.11 Gurdwara Babe-di-Bari, Sialkot.[42]

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[41] Photograph by Author.

[42] Photograph by Author.

1.3.2 Gujranwala

Gujranwala is the headquarter town of the District Gujranwala. The Last census of the district during the colonial times in 1941, recorded its population of 912 thousand people.[43] Today, it is one of the most crowded districts in Pakistan, and the latest census of 2017 has recorded a population of about 5,014,196 in this district.[44] This district of the Lahore Division, located in the upper Rechna Doab, was also a canal colony and military recruitment district during colonial times. It mainly included the land settlements of the canal colony 'Lower Chenab' (1892-1905, 1926-1930) and 'Upper Chenab' (1915-1919), these canal colonies are discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Plate 4 of Appendix I shows the main natural divisions of this district, consisting of: the alluvial lowlands of the river Chenab, the elevated irrigated central portion, the high and dry *bar* tracts, and the valley of the Deg Nullah. On the north, the district shared its boundaries with the districts of Gujrat and Sialkot, while the districts of Jhang and Lahore, later the district of Lyallpur lies on its south. On the eastern side, there is the district of Lahore and later the district of Sheikhupura, while the districts of Gujrat, Shahpur, and Jhang share the boundary with this district towards its western and south-western side. See the District Maps of Gujranwala, in Plates 1 to 9 of Appendix I. The headquarter of this district is located at the old town of Gujranwala, that came to prominence during Sikh times.

Though the origins of town of Gujranwala are unknown, it was believed to be a small village settlement, along the ancient highway of Grand Trunk Road, near the City of Lahore. Probably a halting station on the main road, the settlement had a '*kachi serai*', an inn of baked bricks, for the travellers and local populace, along with a mosque, built during the reign of Sher Shah Suri who is accredited for building the Grand Trunk Road. The *serai* no longer exists today. Another source Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Lahori (1870), quoted by Rehman, places the origins of this settlement in around the reign of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir when it was founded by some Khan Jat Got Shansi and was known as Khanpur Shansi. It was then invaded and captured by the Gujars, the milk-cattle-grazing tribe, and was renamed as Gujranwala, meaning place or a neighbourhood of Gujars. This settlement came to prominence during the Sikh period when the Sikh

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[43] Krishan, p.87.

[44] *District and Tehsil Level Population Summary with Region Breakup*, (Population Census 2017, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics), online <http://www.pbscensus.gov.pk/sites/default/files/bwpsr/punjab/GUJRANWALA_SUMMARY.pdf>, [accessed on 19 September 2018].

ruler Charrat Singh developed a fort here in 1756 AD and made it his capital.[45] Naz and Zaidi, in their article on Gujranwala, explain that Charrat Singh called it 'Gujraoli', named after a local, Chaudhry Gujjar, an owner of a Persian wheel supplying water to this region.[46] Upon his death in 1774 AD, Mahan Singh succeeded him. He kept the town as his capital, and fortified the town with around seven gates (see Figure 1.12 for the remains of the Fort wall). The town is much famous for being the birth place of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, born on 13 November 1780 AD. Upon the death of Mahan Singh in 1792 AD, Ranjit Singh resumed the throne of Sikh Kingdom at a young age of just 12 years old.[47] The town grew and remained the capital of the Sikh Kingdom till Maharaja Ranjit Singh consolidated his rule at Lahore *darbar* (court) and shifted his capital to Lahore. The remains of the buildings from the Sikh times can still be seen in the town today. The Sikhs built samadhs, gurdwaras, tombs and gardens in this town (see Figure 1.13 for Baradari of Ranjit Singh, Figure 1.14 for Tomb of Mahan Singh, Figure 1.15 for Temple of Talab Devi).

During colonial times, the town was made the headquarter town and was developed with a civil station. The British built new town gates and the clock tower in the old walled town, in addition to developing the civil station of the town. The town's development during the colonial times is discussed in Chapter 4, while the architecture of its new colonial structures is discussed in Chapter 6.

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[45] Rehman, pp. 257-258.

[46] Neelum Naz, and Shabih-ul-Hassan Zaidi, 'Historic Perspective of Urban Development of Gujranwala' in *Journal of Research in Architecture and Planning, NED University of Technology, Karachi* 14, Pt. 1 (Jan-Jun 2013), 21-38 (p. 25-26).

[47] Rehman, pp. 257-258.

Figure 1.12 Remains of Fort, Gujranwala.[48]

Figure 1.13 Baradari of Ranjit Singh, Gujranwala.[49]

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[48] Photograph by Author.

[49] Photograph by Author.

Figure 1.14 Tomb of Mahan Singh, Gujranwala.[50]

Figure 1.15 Temple of Talab Devi, Gujranwala.[51]

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[50] Photograph by Author.

[51] Photograph by Author.

1.3.3 Gujrat

Gujrat is the headquarter town of the District Gujrat. The last colonial census of the district, in 1941, recorded a population of 1,104 thousand.[52] Today, this is one of the crowded districts of Pakistan, and the latest census of 2017 has recorded a population of about 2,756,110 people.[53] This district was both a canal colony and military recruitment district in the colonial period, and is located in the upper Jech Doab. It mainly included the land settlements of the canal colony 'Upper Jhelum' (1916-1921), this canal colony is discussed in Chapter 2. Plate 2 of Appendix II shows, the main natural divisions of this district, consisting of: sub-montane zone with the low hills of Jammu and the Gujrat range of Pubbee Hills, high central plateau or *bar*, the alluvial lands of the rivers Jhelum and Chenab on sides, the irrigated and flooded lowlands. The district also has numerous large and small *nullah* (large water streams) and *dalli* or *doara* (small water streams), largest being the Nullah Bhimbar. This district of the Rawalpindi Division, shared its boundaries with the district of Sialkot on its north, while the districts of Jhang and Lyallpur lies on its south. On the eastern side, there is the district of Sheikhupura, while the districts of Gujrat and Shahpur share the boundary with this district towards its western side (see District Maps of Gujrat, in Plates 1 to 14 of Appendix II). The headquarter of this district is located at the old town of Gujrat that came to prominence during the Mughal times.

The history of town of Gujrat goes back to ancient times with Hindu Raja Bachan Pal, a Surajbansi Rajput, as its founder, who developed a small settlement named 'Udenagri' with fortification along the River Chenab. The town was then believed to have been destroyed during the invasion of Alexander the Great in 326 BC. This territory of Gujrat District then fell under the control of Raja Saliwahan of Sialkot. Here one of his royal women, Kaur Jan, daughter of Raja Rasalu of Sialkot, rebuilt the town on the ancient site of Udenagri, and renamed it as 'Kurjan Nagri'. The town and this area was then repeatedly deserted and destroyed during the medieval times, and served as a grazing ground for the local tribes of Gujars and Jats. Prior to the rule of the Mughal emperor Akbar, this town was part of Zilla Bahlolpur, the district named after its ruler Bahlol Lodhi (1450-1488 AD) and the nearby town of Bahlolpur located on this trading

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[52] Krishan, p. 87.

[53] *District and Tehsil Level Population Summary with Region Breakup*, (Population Census 2017, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics), online <http://www.pbscensus.gov.pk/sites/default/files/bwpsr/punjab/GUJRAT_SUMMARY.pdf>, [accessed on 19 September 2018].

route. During the Akbar's rule, the district was known as Chakla Gujrat. The town of Gujrat rose to prominence during the Mughal times when the Emperor Akbar built a Fort here on its high mound in 1580 CE, to settle the local population of Gujars. He renamed it as 'Gujrat Akbarabad'.[54] In the walled town of Gujrat, today, the old fort is completely rebuilt by the local residents and the *baoli* (step well) is covered up (see Figure 1.16). Nearby the Akbari Hammam (Bath) of Mughal times can still be seen but is in a dilapidated condition with poor maintenance (see Figure 1.17 and Figure 1.18). Between the seventeenth century and the arrival of the British, Gujrat emerged as a commercial centre, developed beyond its fortified walls with several *mohallas* or neighborhoods (see Figure 1.19 for street view in the walled town). A surviving shrine in the walled town is the renowned Shrine of Saint Shah Daula (see Figure 1.20).

During colonial times, this town was developed as headquarter town with a civil station. This development of the town during colonial times is discussed in Chapter 4, while its colonial architecture is discussed in Chapter 6.

Figure 1.16 Gujrat Fort, completely rebuilt today.[55]

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[54] Rehman, pp. 192-193.

[55] Photograph by Author.

Figure 1.17 Akbari Hamman, Gujrat.[56]

Figure 1.18 Interior of Akbari Hammam, Gujrat.[57]

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[56] Photograph by Author.

[57] Photograph by Author.

Figure 1.19 Street in old town of Gujrat.[58]

Figure 1.20 Shrine of Saint Shah Daula, Gujrat.[59]

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[58] Photograph by Author.

[59] Photograph by Author.

1.3.4 Jhang

Jhang is the headquarter town of District Jhang. The census 1941 recorded its population as 822 thousand.[60] Today, the latest census of 2017 has recorded a population of about 2,744,085 in this district.[61] This district located in the lower parts of Rechna, Jech and Sind Sagar Doabs was also a canal colony district during the colonial times. It mainly included the land settlements of the canal colony 'Lower Chenab' (1892-1905, 1926-1930) and of the canal colony 'Lower Jhelum' (1902-1906), these canal colonies are discussed in Chapter 2. The district maps of Jhang in Appendix III shows the main natural divisions of this district, including its vast uplands of Sandal Bar, Kirana Bar, and the Thal, occupied mainly by the pastoral tribes called *'janglis'* by the British. These *bars*, the uplands of this district, mostly formed the Government wastelands, where the largest Chenab Colony was developed that resulted into new district and town of Lyallpur. Jhang District of the Multan Division shared its boundaries with the districts of Shahpur and Gujranwala on its northern side, while the districts of Muzzafargarh and Multan lie on its south. On the eastern side, later in start of twentieth century the district of Lyallpur was developed, while the districts of Mianwali and Shahpur share the boundary with this district towards its western side. The headquarter of this district is located at the old town of Jhang that originated during pre-colonial times.

The early settlement history of this district is linked to the ancient mound, which is referred to as Sakala in Mahabharta, Sangala by Alexander's historians, Sagal in Buddhist text, and presently in modern times known as Sanglawala Tibba, located about 60 to 65 miles from the camp on back of river Ravi. The Sakala of Mahabharta is mentioned as a capital of the Madras, a district that is said to extend from river Bias to either river Chenab or river Jhelum. The Greek historians, Arrian and Curtis, describe Sangala as a town with a fortified wall and a swamp or a lake. Mention of the town is then found in the account of Chinese traveler, Hwen Thang, who visited it in 630 AD and described it as a ruined town, still inhabited, with remains of the small portion of old city, a Buddhist monastery of about 100 monks and two Buddhist stupas, one of which was built during the reign of Ashoka. The history of this district during medieval times is complex account with several tribes occupying the country, including Sials,

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[60] Krishan, p. 87.

[61] *District and Tehsil Level Population Summary with Region Breakup*, (Population Census 2017, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics), online <http://www.pbscensus.gov.pk/sites/default/files/bwpsr/punjab/JHNAG_SUMMARY.pdf>, [accessed on 19 September 2018].

Beloches, Sayad, Harals, Khokhars, Jats, Bhattis, and Lalis.[62] The capital of the Sial State was at Jhang. The town of Jhang is believed to be founded in 1462 AD by Mal Khan, of Sial tribe, near the shrine of Nur Shah (see Figure 1.21). After its destruction by a flood, the town was then rebuilt in 1688 AD.[63] During the reign of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, a sanyasi fakir, Lal Nath lived here near the Nath Mandir that even today stands tall in the town (see Figure 1.22 and Figure 1.23). This region was then captured by Ranjit Singh in 1805.[64]

The town, today, houses the tombs and shrines of various Sufi saints in its old *mohallas*. Rather unique and popular among these tombs is, however, the Shrine of Heer, a literary character of the popular Punjabi folklore, Heer Ranjha, penned down by the local poet Waris Shah. Some others, however, believe that Heer and Ranjha is the love story of two real personalities who lived probably either during the rule of Sials or the Lodhi dynasty (see Figure 1.24 and Figure 1.25).

In colonial times this town was developed with its twin town Maghiana. Maghiana was a village settlement in the outskirts of the walled town of Jhang, which was developed with civil station during the colonial towns. Their development as district headquarter for Jhang District during colonial times is discussed in Chapter 4, and the colonial architecture is discussed in Chapter 6.

Figure 1.21 Shrine of Nur Shah, Jhang.[65]

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[62] *Gazetteer of the Jhang District, 1883-84* (Lahore: Arya Press, 1884; Reprinted by Sang-e-Meel Publication, Lahore, 2012), pp. 23-27.

[63] *Jhang Maghiana,* (Encyclopaedia Britannica), online <https://www.britannica.com/place/Jhang-Maghiana>, [accessed on 20 September 2018].

[64] *Gazetteer of the Jhang District, 1883-84*, pp. 164-165.

[65] Photograph by Author.

Figure 1.22 View of Nath Temple, from the bazar street of the walled town, Jhang.[66]

Figure 1.23 Nath Sahib ka Mandir, Jhang.[67]

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[66] Photograph by Author.

[67] Photograph by Author.

Figure 1.24 Entrance to Tomb of Heer, Jhang.[68]

Figure 1.25 Tomb of Heer, Jhang.[69]

1.3.5 Sheikhupura

In colonial times Sheikhupura was made the headquarter town of the new district of Sheikhupura. The 1941 census recorded a population of 853,000.[70] Today, the population of this district is more than three times that, the latest census of 2017

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[68] Photograph by Author.

[69] Photograph by Author.

[70] Krishan, p. 87.

recording a population of about 3,460,426.[71] This district is located in the Rechna Doab, and was also a colonial canal colony. It mainly included the land settlements of the canal colony 'Lower Chenab' (1892-1905, 1926-1930) and of the canal colony 'Upper Chenab' (1915-1919), discussed in detail in Chapter 2. These canal colonies, ultimately resulted in the constitution of this district in early decades of the twentieth century. The making of this new district is discussed in Chapter 3. On the north, the district shared its boundaries with the district of Sialkot, while the districts of Lyallpur and Montgomery lies on its south. On the eastern side, there are the districts of Lahore and Amritsar, while the district of Gujranwala shares the boundary with this district towards its western side. The headquarter of this district is located at the old settlement of Sheikhupura, that originated during the Mughal times.

The origin of Sheikhupura is vague. Sheikhupura was, however, mentioned during medieval times as 'Panjnagar' meaning 'five settlements'. The present town grew out of the village 'Jahangirpur' or 'Jahangirabad' founded by the Mughal Emperor Jahangir. During the early colonial period, the settlement of Jahangirabad was referred as 'Sheikhupura', derived from the other name 'Sultan Sheikhu' of its founder, Emperor Jahangir. Mughal Emperor Jahangir developed it as a royal hunting resort at the edge of a thick forest famous for the herds of wild antelopes. He also built a Fort outside the old village settlement (see Figure 1.26, Figure 1.27, and Figure 1.28). During the Sikh rule, several buildings were added to the Sheikhupura Fort by Rani Raj Kauran, known as Rani Nakayan, who was one of the queens of Ranjit Singh, and resided in the fort for many years, including a *haveli* (mansion), *bagh* (garden) and a *baradari* (pavilion) (see Figure 1.28, and Figure 1.29). Between 1607 and 1620 AD, the hunting lodge was developed by the Mughal Emperor Jahangir in the complex called Hiran Minar.[72] The local words *Hiran* means a deer or an antelope and *Minar* means minaret or tower. Hiran Minar is located about two and a half miles northwest of the old town and fort of Sheikhupura in a place called Chakk Munara along the road to Hafizabad. It has a *talab* (a large masonry water tank) with a *baradari* (pavilion) called Daulat Khana, and a *minar* (minaret) with 99 step (see Figure 1.30, and Figure 1.31).[73] While the Hiran Minar is

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[71] *District and Tehsil Level Population Summary with Region Breakup*, (Population Census 2017, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics), online <http://www.pbscensus.gov.pk/sites/default/files/bwpsr/punjab/SHEIKHUPURA_SUMMARY.pdf>, [accessed on 19 September 2018].

[72] Rehman, pp. 205-207, 212-216.

[73] *Gazetteer of the Gujranwala District, 1883-1884* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazetteer Press, 1884; Reprinted by Sang-e-Meel publications, Lahore, 2004), p. 92.

much celebrated tourist place today, capturing the attention of the government's conversation plans and public alike, the Sheikhupura Fort, is left to ruins, telling the story of its neglect, ill-maintenance and selected conservation policy of the government today (see Figure 1.32).

During colonial times, this village settlement of the Mughal times, was made the headquarter town of the new district of Sheikhupura. Making of this new district is discussed in Chapter 3 and the development of headquarter town of Sheikhupura and its colonial architecture in Chapters 4 and 6.

Figure 1.26 Entrance gate and fortified wall of Sheikhupura Fort.[74]

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[74] Photograph by Author.

Figure 1.27 Premises of Sheikhupura Fort.[75]

Figure 1.28 Buildings of the Mughal and Sikh times in the complex of Sheikhupura Fort.[76]

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[75] Photograph by Author.

[76] Photograph by Author.

Figure 1.29 Pre-colonial Buildings of Sheikhupura Fort.[77]

Figure 1.30 Hiran Minar, Sheikhupura.[78]

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[77] Photograph by Author.

[78] Photograph by Author.

Figure 1.31 Minaret of Hiran Minar, Sheikhupura.[79]

Figure 1.32 Use of Hiran Minar as a picnic resort today.[80]

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[79] Photograph by Author.

[80] Photography by Author.

1.3.6 Montgomery

Montgomery was made the colonial headquarter town of the Montgomery District. The last census of 1941 recorded its population of 1,329 thousand.[81] During the post-colonial times, the latest census of 2017 has recorded an increase in its population amounting for about 2,517,560 people in this district.[82] Located in the Lower Bari Doab, this was a canal colony district. Three main canal colonies that resulted in the land settlements in this district include the earliest canal colony Sohag Para (1886-1888), Lower Bari Doab Colony (1914-1924), and also the last canal colony Nili Bar or Sutlej Valley Project (1926-1940), these canal colonies are discussed in Chapter 2. Plates 2 and 3 of Appendix IV shows the main physical features of the district according to canal irrigation and the wastelands owned by the government, including the high central ridge called Dhaya, the uplands of Ravi Bar, Ganji Bar, Bias Bar, and Nili Bar, and also two main rivers Sutlej and Ravi. This district of Multan Division, shared its boundaries on the north, with the district of Sheikhupura and Lahore, while the district of Multan and princely state of Bahawalpur lies on its south. On the eastern side, there is the district of Ferozpur, while the districts of Lyallpur and Multan share the boundaries with this district towards its western side. See District Maps of Montgomery in Plates 1 to 8 of Appendix IV.

Wild pastoral tribes inhabited the *doabs* at an early date. Their history can be traced back to the times of Alexander's invasion. Greek historians of that time informs about the race called Kathaeans, occupying the northern part while another race of Malli, occupying the southern part of this district. Their capital was at city of Multan. In this districts, however, their main towns were Kot Kamalia and Harappa. The historical accounts are vague about what happened to Harappa after the Indus times. However, several other towns of this district grew to prominence during the medieval times, including the towns of Pak Pattan, Dipalpur, and Shergarh. During Mughal times, the headquarter town was located at Dipalpur. Under Sikh rule, the area was conquered by the Nakkai Sikhs, whose ruler Kamr Singh rebuilt the forts at Satgharah, Harappa and Kabir, in around 1775. During the rule of Ranjit Singh, the old divisions of the district

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[81] Krishan, p.87.

[82] *District and Tehsil Level Population Summary with Region Breakup*, (Population Census 2017, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics), online <http://www.pbscensus.gov.pk/sites/default/files/bwpsr/punjab/SAHIWAL_SUMMARY.pdf>, [accessed on 19 September 2018].

were abolished and new divisions were formulated.[83] Plates 5 and 6 of Appendix IV shows the divisions of this district during the Sikh times.

The colonial headquarter of this district was first located at town of Pak Pattan. It was then shifted to Gugera and finally to the new town of Montgomery (these changes in the district during the colonial times is discussed in Chapter 3). The new town of Montgomery was located near the ancient Indus town of Harappa, at the village site of Sahiwal, along the Lahore-Multan main railway line. This new town was laid out by Mr. Blyth, Deputy Commissioner of this district, in 1865, and was named after Sir Robert Montgomery, Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab.[84] The town was planned near the canal of Lower Bari Doab, with a large central jail, civil station, and two bazars (see Figure 1.33, Figure 1.34, and Figure 1.35). The colonial development of this town and its colonial architecture is discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Figure 1.33 View of Lower Bari Doab Canal, Montgomery.[85]

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[83] *Gazetteer of the Montgomery District, 1883-84* (Lahore: Arya Press, 1884; Reprinted by Sang-e-Meel publications, Lahore, 2012), pp. 26-36.

[84] *Gazetteer of the Montgomery District, 1883-84*, ibid., p. 178.

[85] Photograph by Author.

Figure 1.34 Central Jail, Montgomery, 1873.[86]

Figure 1.35 View of the bazaar, Montgomery.[87]

1.3.7 Sargodha

Sargodha was the headquarter town of the district of Shahpur during colonial times. The 1941 census recorded a population of 999 thousand in this district.[88] Today, the district is named after its headquarter town of Sargodha, and the latest census of 2017 has

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[86] Photograph by Author.

[87] Photograph by Author.

[88] Krishan, p. 87.

recorded a population of about 3,703,588 in this district.[89] This district is located in the Jech Doab and Sind Sagar Doab, and was a canal colony and military recruitment district during the colonial times. It mainly included the land settlements of the canal colony 'Lower Jhelum' (1902-1906), discussed in detail in Chapter 2. The main physical features of this district include a small portion of the Salt range, valleys of the rivers Chenab and Jhelum, the *bar* uplands, the Thal desert, and the Mohar. On the north, the district shares its boundaries with the districts of Gujrat, Jhelum and Attock, while the district of Jhang lies on its south. On the eastern side, there are the districts of Gujranwala and Gujrat, while the district of Mianwali shares the boundary with this district towards its western side.

Early history of this district is quite vague, the most ancient sites of this district are probably within the Salt range. Among them, the site at Amb, some 5 miles from Sakesar, had the ruins of a fort and three temples. The inscription stone of this ancient site Amb, found in 1888 at Khura in the Salt Ranges, describes about the reign of an independent ruler, Toramana Shah Jauvla, during the Gupta Period. Numerous ancient sites of former settlements and towns are also found in the *bar* region of this district. These are mainly mounds with scattered brick and pottery mixed in the earth. These sites were probably inhabited and deserted at various times according to the change of the route of the rivers flowing in this region. Some of these mounds of ancient settlements include Vijjhi 3 miles west of Miani, Takht Hazara on the Chenab, Chak Sahnu 13 miles east of Shahpur, and Panj Pir 10 miles south of Sahiwal. Main towns during the recent times of Mughal Rule include Bhera, Shahpur, and Khushab. In the declining authority of the Mughal Kingdom, this region was plundered by Ahmed Shah and his Afghan army in 1757, who looted and burnt the towns, including Chak Sahnu. While Chak Sahnu has been lost to history since then, other towns, including Bhera and Miani, survived and rose to prominence once again. The period then followed saw the struggle of the Sikhs, and the local tribes of Bhangis, Tiwanas, Bilochs, Sials, and Sayeds, to acquire hold of this area, till the reign of Ranjit. Starting from Miani, Ranjit Singh captured the whole region, including the towns of Bhera, Sahiwal, Khushab, and Shahpur. After Ranjit Singh, and with the Anglo-Sikh wars, the Tiwana Maliks

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[89] *District and Tehsil Level Population Summary with Region Breakup*, (Population Census 2017, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics), online <http://www.pbscensus.gov.pk/sites/default/files/bwpsr/punjab/SARGHODHA_SUMMARY.pdf>, [accessed on 19 September 2018].

acknowledged for their pre-eminence in this region were rewarded for their loyalties to the British with land grants, ranks and share of revenue.[90]

At the start of British rule in 1849, the headquarters of this district was established at the old town of Shahpur. In the beginning of the twentieth century, however, the headquarter of this district was shifted to the new town of Sargodha. The changes in the district boundaries and the shift of headquarter town is discussed in Chapter 3. Shahpur is located about 2 miles from the river Jhelum. It was founded by the Sayeds that have the common ancestor, Saint Shah Shams of the sixteenth century. It is a walled town with fort, two gates, a bazar and shrine of the Saint Shah Shams. The old town of Shahpur is located in the flood prone area, the new civil station during the colonial times was, therefore, developed on the high ground, 3 miles east of Shahpur town, along the road from Lahore to Dera Ismail Khan.[91] With the land settlement of the canal colony of Lower Jhelum, and the new town of Sargodha south-east of Shahpur, however, the district headquarter was shifted to Sargodha. Sargodha was laid out by Sir Charles Montgomery Rivaz, in 1903, along the Shorkot-Lala Musa Branch Railway line, with the civil station and Air Base for Royal Air Force (see Figure 1.36, and Figure 1.37). The development of Sargodha as district headquarters during British times is discussed in Chapter 5 and architecture of its colonial buildings is discussed in Chapter 6.

Figure 1.36 Revenue Office, in the civil station of Sargodha.[92]

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[90] J. Wilson, *Gazetteer of the Shahpur District, 1897* (Lahore: Civil and Military Press, 1897; Reprinted by Sang-e-Meel publications, Lahore, 2012), pp. 29-35.

[91] Wilson, ibid., pp. 236-237.

[92] Photograph by Author.

Figure 1.37 Railway Station, Sargodha.[93]

1.3.8 Lyallpur

Lyallpur was made the headquarter town of the new district of Lyallpur. The last census of the district during colonial times in 1941, recorded its population of 1,396 thousand people.[94] Today, the town of Lyallpur has emerged as the third largest city of Pakistan with a population of about 3,203,846 in the last census of 2017.[95] While the district recorded a population of about 7,874,790 in the census 2017.[96] On the north, the district shares its boundaries with the districts of Sheikhupura and Gujranwala, while the districts of Montgomery and Multan lie on its south. On the eastern side, there is the district of Montgomery, while the district of Jhang shares the boundary with this district towards its western side. Located in the lower Rechna Doab, it was also a canal colony district during the colonial times. It mainly included the land settlements of the canal colony 'Lower Chenab' (1892-1905, 1926-1930), discussed in Chapter 2. The main physical feature of this district is the *bar* proper, originally formed the part of the Sandal Bar (see Plates 1

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[93] Photograph by Author.

[94] Krishan, p. 87.

[95] *Provincial Summary Results of the 6th Population and Housing Census-2017*, (Population Census 2017, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics), online <http://www.pbs.gov.pk/content/provisional-summary-results-6th-population-and-housing-census-2017-0>, [accessed on 19 September 2018].

[96] *District and Tehsil Level Population Summary with Region Breakup*, (Population Census 2017, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics), online <http://www.pbscensus.gov.pk/sites/default/files/bwpsr/punjab/FAISLABAD_SUMMARY.pdf>, [accessed on 19 September 2018].

to 7 of Appendix III for the *bar* area shown in District maps of Jhang, when they were part of that district prior to the constitution of the new district of Lyallpur). The changes in the districts and formulation of new district is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

The Sandal Bar is located between the riverine tract of River Chenab and the old arm of the river Chenab called the Budh on the west towards the district of Jhang, and the riverines of the river Ravi and the Nullah Deg on the east. The riverine tracts have the villages.[97] The Sandal Bar wherein later the British rulers developed the Chenab Colony was, however, inhabited by the native pastoral tribes throughout the history of this area. These tribes were known as *janglis* by the British. This *bar* is mainly plain levelled, sparsely covered with bushes except for a denser growth in the hollows, providing grazing land for the pastoral tribes of this area. There was no urban centre in this *bar* region prior to the colonial times. The native tribes lived here in small temporary nomadic settlements known as *rahnas* or *jhoks*, wherein the *rahnas* were the settlements of cattle owners and *jhoks* were the settlements of camel-owners. Numerous mounds with debris of bricks and pottery are also found in the *bar* tract.[98] During colonial times, the *bar* tract was claimed as the crown wastelands by the government. When the canal colony of Lower Chenab was developed here, numerous new villages were laid out in this tract, called *chaks* (villages). Besides, the headquarters of the new district of Lyallpur that resulted from the settlement of this canal colony was laid out near the village settlement of Paccamari. This new town was first referred to with the name of this colony, but later in 1896, was renamed as Lyallpur after Sir James Broadwood Lyall, Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab. This town was laid out as an exemplary *mandi* (market) town, with eight bazars around the clock tower, besides the civil station (see Figure 1.38, Figure 1.39, and Figure 1.40). The development of this town during colonial times is discussed in detail in Chapter 5, and its colonial architecture in Chapter 6.

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[97] J. D. Penny, *Final Settlement Report of the Jhang and Gugera Branch Circles of the Lyallpur District* (Lahore: The Superintendent, Government Printing, 1925), accessed at General Reference Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. I.S.PU.20/49.(1.), pp. 1-2.

[98] B.H. Dobson, *Final Report of the Chenab Colony Settlement* (Lahore: The Superintendent Government Printing, Punjab, 1915), accessed at India Office Record Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. W 1382, p. 3.

Figure 1.38 Zilla Council, in the civil station of Lyallpur.[99]

Figure 1.39 View of bazaars around the Clock Tower, Lyallpur.[100]

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[99] Photograph by Author.

[100] Photograph by Author.

Figure 1.40 Clock Tower, Lyallpur.[101]

1.4 Conclusion

The Punjab is a rich, diverse and vast region of the North India, with history, culture and urbanisation tracing back to the ancient times. The region was of significance and importance throughout its history as a gateway to Indian sub-continent from the Central Asia and beyond. This chapter has delineated the political history of the West Punjab in particular, together with its economy, ecology, and urbanisation during the pre-colonial times. It has attempted to serve as a preamble to understanding the development and urbanisation of this region during the colonial times discussed in the subsequent chapters of this thesis. The brief account of the origins and pre-colonial and colonial history of the towns under study endeavoured to bring into perspective the various types of settlements with diverse historical backgrounds that were then expanded and established as headquarter towns during the British Rule in the Punjab.

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[101] Photograph by Author.

2 . Colonial Policies and Development of the Punjab

Chapter 2 of Thesis

2.1 Introduction

The strategic importance of the Punjab as a frontier region, with its economic potential, influenced the colonial policy for development of this region under the British rule. In India, the British policy was mainly characterised by the coexistence of both conservative and progressive ideas, giving order a priority on the one hand, and transforming the region on the other, respectively. This conflicting policy led to the strategic development in the early phase of the British rule in the Punjab.[1] Later, the economic development launched in the western *doabs* (inter-fluvial tracts) of the Punjab, along with the early strategic developments, transformed the Punjab uniquely, with wide-spread and far-reaching effects on its economic, political, social, rural and urban life.

This chapter will outline the changing colonial policies that influenced the development in the Punjab from the start of the British rule in 1849 to its end in 1947, by explaining their impacts mainly on the area of the study i.e. canal colony districts of the West Punjab (see Figure 2.4). Briefly discussing the development in the early phase of the British rule, this chapter will mainly delineate the development of the West Punjab through the agricultural colonisation in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Various effects of this economic development on the urbanisation of the West Punjab will be investigated through the changing policies of land distribution in each canal colony. The discussion will mainly be generated by critically analysing the seminal research writings on the agricultural colonisation of scholars from the fields of social and political sciences and history. References to a few related primary sources gathered from the British Library in London and the Punjab Archives in Lahore are also mentioned.

2.2 Colonial Policies in the Early Phase (1849-1880s)

The Punjab, land of five rivers, throughout history, is recognized as the gateway to India from Europe, linking the Indian sub-continent with Central Asia. Owning to the long resistance of the Sikhs, the Punjab became the last province annexed in the British

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[1] Ian Talbot, 'The Punjab under Colonialism: Order and Transformation in British India', in *Journal of Punjab Studies* 14, Pt. 1 (2011), 3-10 (p. 4).

conquest of India (the significance of this region together with its pre-colonial history is discussed in Chapter 1). After severe wars with the Sikh Khalsa, the Punjab was formally annexed in March 1849.[2] Its strategic importance as a frontier region[3] was also recognized by the British, and with the rising threat of Russian expansion in the Central Asia, possession of the Punjab became vital (see Figure 2.1).[4] The Russian empire was about 1000 miles away in Central Asia in 1850, its distance was reduced further to only 400 miles from British India in 1870s. The British were well aware of the difficulty of fighting the Russians in India or in Afghanistan because of the untrustworthy native Indian troops in the British Indian Army after the event of 1857. This significantly influenced their policy in the Punjab, considered as a frontier region, and also in Afghanistan, considered as a buffer zone, with the desire to keep the Russians away from both these regions.[5]

Peace and order became the British priority in the newly acquired province of the Punjab. During the early phase before the establishment of the direct rule in 1858, while the British were administrators in the Punjab from its annexation in 1849 to 1858, the military matters of the region were dealt by its 'frontier force' (regiments, in no way inferior to a regular army), under the Board of Administration of the Punjab. Besides, there was also the Police force in the Punjab to maintain law and order.[6]

Right after the annexation 1849, the British had the policy of acknowledging the bravery of the Sikh army, whom they defeated and conquered.[7] The settling of the disbanded soldiers was a major concern of the British administrators, to restore peace. To tackle the issue, they were given land, through Upper Bari Doab Canal developed in eastern districts of the Punjab as early as in 1850-1861, and Sirhind Canal in 1869.[8] This political need attached to the canal network, Gilmartin argues, became more

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[2] Lawrence James, *Raj: The Making of British India* (Londres: Abacus, 1997), pp. 106-118.

[3] Anjali G. Roy, 'Land of Five Rivers, Canal Colonies and Oceanic Flows to Southeast Asia', in *Third Critical Studies Conference* (Kolkata: Academy of Fine Arts, 2009), 1-9 (p. 1).

[4] Talbot, p. 4.

[5] Rajit K. Mazumder, 'The Making of Punjab: Colonial Power, The Indian Army and Recruited Peasants, 1849-1939' (doctoral thesis, University of London, SOAS, 2001), pp. 24-25.

[6] Mazumder, ibid., pp. 18-20.

[7] Rajmohan Gandhi, *Punjab: A History from Aurangzeb to Mountbatten* (New Delhi: Aleph Book Company, 2013), p. 195.

[8] Graham Chapham, *The Geopolitics of South Asia: From Early Empires to the Nuclear Age* (London: Aldershot Ashgate, 2003), pp. 129-130.

prominent in the later development through canal colonisation in the Punjab.[9] The British were also quick in absorbing the Sikhs into the British Indian Army in an effort to prevent these combat men from rising against their new rulers.[10]

Figure 2.1 Map of Russian Frontiers in Central Asia, showing the Punjab as Frontier Region of British India and Afghanistan as a Buffer Zone between Russian and British Empires.[11]

Other than the strategic importance, the Punjab's economic significance was in the minds of the British from the onset of their presence in this region. A News item of March 28, 1846, quoted by Vandals, states the material wealth of the Punjab and how it will become the most valuable possession of the British Crown once annexed.[12] Henry Lawrence estimated the annual income of Rupees 7 Lakh (700,000) from the state of Lahore alone during his early residency at the Sikh Durbar of Lahore. This also led to a calculated revenue policy even in the early phase of the British rule with a careful observation of the rural society and its working (e.g. land ownership, revenue system, etc.). Its consequence was a policy to preserve the Punjabi customs, with the exercise of

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[9] David Gilmartin, 'Scientific Empire and Imperial Science: Colonialism and Irrigation Technology in the Indus Basin', in *The Journal of Asian Studies* 53, Pt. 4 (November 1994), 1127-1149 (p. 1132).

[10] Mazumder, p. 280.

[11] Frederick Sleigh Roberts, *Forty-one years in India: From Subaltern to Commander-In-Chief,* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1898), e-book release date is August 2005, online <https://www.mirrorservice.org/sites/gutenberg.org/1/6/5/2/16528/16528-h/16528-h.htm>, [accessed on 14 June 2016], p. 506.

[12] Pervaiz Vandal, and Sajida Vandal, *The Raj, Lahore, and Bhai Ram Singh* (Lahore: NCA Publication, 2006), p. 54.

'personal rule' by isolated district officers, in the early phase of the British presence in the Punjab.[13] Since the British state recognised the Sikh as their toughest enemy, the policy they adopted was to keep them contented by rewarding the *zamindari* (land ownership), together with reduction in the revenue demands. It has been argued that for the British, maintaining the internal peace in the Punjabi society was more important than extracting maximum revenue.[14]

The priority of maintaining the peace and keeping the peasantry contented, paid off well when during the Mutiny 1857, the Sikh peasantry of the Punjab sided with the British to crush the rebellious sepoys of the British Indian Army. The major reason was the absence of any agrarian discontent among the Punjabis, while other possible reasons included the desire of the Sikhs to avenge the Mughals, taking over Delhi (once a capital of Mughal Empire) and the Sikh's dislike for the Indian troops.[15]

This policy of preferring peace and order is also reflected in the delay of the constitutional development in the Punjab. Thus, about forty years later than the rest of British India, in 1897, the Punjab Legislative Council was defined with all of its nine members nominated by the Lieutenant General. Throughout the British rule, the Punjab remained the most under-developed region in terms of the constitutional development, with the lowest proportion of elected members in the whole of British India.[16] The right to vote was given to selected people with the state's bias to preserve its conservative, feudalistic and military interests.[17]

The suppression of the 1857 revolt changed the British role in India from the administrators to the rulers of India, with the establishment of Direct Crown Rule in 1858. Metcalf discusses the lasting effects of the event of 1857 on the British policy in India.[18] During the crisis of 1857, the loyalty of the Punjab's landholding classes led to further recognition of this region for consolidating the British authority in North India. The immediate and most far-reaching influence of the Punjab's military support to the British during the Mutiny 1857 was no doubt the increased rate of military recruitments

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[13] Mazumder, pp. 95-98.

[14] Gandhi, p. 196.

[15] Mazumder, pp. 95-98, 105.

[16] Mazumder, ibid., pp. 116, 118-123.

[17] Hassan Javid, 'Class, Power, and Patronage: The Landed Elite and Politics in Pakistani Punjab' (doctoral thesis, The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2012), p. 5.

[18] Thomas R. Metcalf, 'II. The Influence of the Mutiny of 1857 on Land Policy in India.' in *The Historical Journal* 4, Pt. 2 (1961), 152-163 (p. 152).

from the Punjab. The Bengal army, at the time of the Revolt 1857, had only 30,000 Punjabis in it. However, the Mutiny 1857 resulted in the restructuring of the Bengal army, with 75,000 Punjabis forming the Bengal army out of its 80,000 native soldiers by June 1858. This shift was the most significant impact of the role that the Punjabis, the Sikhs in particular, played in supporting the British with the provision of army men for suppressing the rebellion.[19] The change was only in the Bengal army as the other two presidency armies, Bombay and Madras, remained loyal during the Mutiny 1857. The Peel Commission recommended to create mixed regiments to prevent rebellion, with the native to the British troop's ratio in Bengal army as 2:1 and in the other two armies as 3:1. By 1883, this commission's recommendation of creating more balanced and mixed regiments was rejected in favour of the class regiments. The class regiments were propagated by Roberts who based his argument on the theory of martial races, born out of the belief that all the natives are not equal in fighting qualities. This theory almost granted a birth right to the Punjabis for military service, establishing their identity as the martial races, resulting mainly in the Punjabisation of the British Indian Army. This then also affected the other two presidency armies, with adverse effects on the Madras army. Nearly half of the native soldiers in the whole of the British Indian Army were now recruited from the Punjab by the beginning of the twentieth century.[20] This was extremely significant in its impact as the Punjab's populace only made ten percent of the entire population of India.[21]

To sum up, the Russian threat, the events of 1857, and the theory of martial races, significantly affected the military recruiting grounds, making the Punjab the largest supply area for the native Indian Army after 1857. Since usually half of the military budget was spent on the regiment pays and pensions, the Punjab was getting the higher proportion of the Indian military budget than the rest of India. This benefited certain sections of the Punjabi populace, and also had considerable socio-economic and political effects on this region.[22] Later development of the canal colonies in the western *doabs*, discussed in the later part of this chapter, will further show the continuity of military imperatives in the land distribution policies of these canal colonies. The militarisation of the Punjab and its benefits can be more prominently observed in those

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[19] Mazumder, p. 21.

[20] Gandhi, pp. 237-239.

[21] Mazumder, p. 30.

[22] Idrees Khawaja, 'Development, Disparity, and Colonial Shocks: Do Endowments Matter?' in *UCLA: Working Papers* (2012), 1-26 (p. 9).

canal colony districts which, in addition to availing the economic benefits of the canal irrigation, were also military recruiting districts. For instance, in the canal colony districts of Lyallpur and Shahpur, that were also military recruiting districts, the problem of indebtedness was less.[23] The considerable importance of military in the Punjab, Javid argues, continues till the present day, to affect the politics of the newly created state of Pakistan, even after the end of the British rule in 1947.[24]

2.2.1 Strategic Development for the Imperial Power and Economy

With the rising threat of the Russians in Central Asia, the defence of the Punjab was of prime importance to the British government. This status of the Punjab as a frontier region for British India, however, Mazumder states, cannot be just defended by changing the military recruiting policy. The main intention was to improve the communication and transport in this huge region, spreading from Peshawar in the west to the imperial capital of Delhi in the east, and from the sub-montane division of Rawalpindi in the north through the riverine plains in the centre to the desert areas of Cholistan in the south (see Figure 2.2). Though the North West Frontier Province (NWFP), consisting of Pathan districts, was carved out of the Punjab in 1901, all the military requirements were supplied through the Punjab. Further, from the time of annexation in 1849, the Board of Administration in the Punjab was given the responsibility for provision of peace in this region and to safeguard its western frontiers, throughout its territory, spanning from its northern borders of Sindh to Attock including the Huzara. The only exception was Peshawar, which together with the Khyber Pass, was guarded by the Indian Army.[25] The uninterrupted and rapid movement of army along with the efficient communication in this vast region was of utmost importance. These military commissariat requirements led to the development of the infrastructure, supply lines and communication, cantonments and forts. The Punjab had the highest concentration of the army personnel and cantonments, as a result. It was also the main supplier of the military animals, mules and horses, in British India. All these developments were solely for military and imperial purposes in the early phase. In the later phase, however, these developments also assisted in the economic activity of the region, and had significant socio-economic and spatial effects.

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[23] Mazumder, p. 37.

[24] Javid, pp. 198-220.

[25] Mazumder, pp. 13, 55, 59-62.

Cantonments

Being the largest supplier of the soldiers for the British Army after 1857 and also a frontier region, the Punjab had the highest number of the cantonments in the Indian Sub-continent during the British rule.[26] The British priority was to station the armed forces away from the civilians. Thus, cantonments were one of the first developments in the early phase of the British rule. These cantonments were basically military camps, separate from the civil area of the city. Discussing the Lahore Cantonment, laid out in 1852, the Vandals maintain how in reality, these self-contained and well-connected cantonments were more than just the housing of the armed forces. Their grandeur, location, layout and design, symbolised the power and culture of the rulers. The cantonment, in the true sense, was a new city built adjacent to the old, emphasising the contrast of the two. Although the cantonments were laid out solely for military purposes, they influenced the growth pattern and urban morphology of the existing towns. These physical effects of the cantonments on the town form are discussed in detail in Chapter 4. Apart from that, the cantonments also impacted on the demography of the town.[27]

Cantonments and military service influenced the military men to live in similar fashion and western standards as their rulers. These cantonments had the provision of clean, airy and well-lit domestic and commercial space. With the income and pension, not only the military men could built houses, but Darling, cited by Mazumder, notes in his tours that the spirit and western influences that they carry with their exposure to better living conditions in the cantonments were reflected in the better way in which they built the houses and communal spaces (like mosques, gurdwaras, temples), with well-lit, well-ventilated spaces and cemented floors. Cantonments, together with other military institutions and worldly experience through wars, influenced the perception of the native troops by exposing the soldiers to the new living styles, and taught them the western values/principles of time and discipline, health and hygiene, dress code and dietary habits, mannerism and education, and sports and recreation.[28]

Moreover, cantonments also influenced the economic environment of the town, often when the *Sadar* bazars (cantonment markets), established for fulfilling the requirement of the military personnel and their families, bloomed to develop into a

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[26] Reeta Grewal, 'Urban Patterns in the Punjab Region since Protohistoric Times', in *Journal of Punjab Studies 20,* Pt. 1&2 (no date), 273-299 (p. 289).

[27] Vandal and Vandal, pp. 60-69.

[28] Mazumder, pp. 38-40, 45-46.

larger town (discussed in detail in Chapter 4). The location of the railway and road, near the cantonments, facilitated these growing markets.[29] One noticeable case is that of the hill station 'Murree' that was entirely developed for the army troops as their summer station between 1850 and 1853. All its roads, barracks, housing, school and bazar, were for the military, attracting the shopkeepers from the nearby areas in the summers too. Thus, the military presence, benefitted the Punjabi populace, as it provided the railway and road, aiding in their commercial activities (discussed in Chapters 3 and 4). In addition, the presence of cantonment in a headquarter town also gives it a role of being military centre at district level (discussed in Chapter 3).

Besides, it was the tangible economic benefits, together with the political and social status that, Mazumder argues, are the main reasons why the Punjabis enrolled for the military service. The Punjabis favoured the British state in the view that the state was serving their interests while protecting the state's interests, considering it a benevolent state. These common interests created a symbiotic relationship between the paternal British state and the loyal Punjabi peasantry, a win-win situation for both. This contributed to the positive attitude (with the military, moral and material support) that the Punjabi had for the British state, resulting in the highest military recruits, with the praise for the benevolent state, that in return rewarded them in various ways including the honours, titles, and grants.[30]

Other than the cantonments, the Indian Soldiers' Board was started in 1919, operating with its provincial and district level boards, to look after the welfare and affairs of the soldiers and their families. By 1930, the Punjab had 26 District Soldiers' Boards in its 29 districts. These boards also administered Indian Army Benevolent Fund. In addition, at the government employments, the ex-soldiers got preference with the district committees formed to assist in job-hunt, also getting the support of business firms and Chamber of Commerce. Many ex-soldiers were appointed in the civil administration (as village-headmen, and several other civil posts). Moreover, the military body 'Corps of Guides' had powers to employ soldiers in the police, when needed. A special legislation also protected the army men, with the Indian Soldiers' (Litigation) Act (of 1915, replaced in 1918, and further amended in 1924 and 1925).[31]

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[29] Khawaja, p. 4.

[30] Mazumder, pp. 74-75 182, 225-226, 274-279.

[31] Mazumder, ibid., p. 129-134.

Communication and Transport

To link the whole region with the effective communication and transportation networks primarily for military purposes, became the top priority of the British rulers. The Punjab from its western boundaries was connected, through the railway, road and telegraph systems, to the state capital of Delhi via its divisional and district headquarter towns. These infrastructural developments resulted in the improved and rapid communication and movement for troops. Besides, with every new rail line and road, some new villages were linked to the nearby market towns. These transport development, thus, played a significant role in increasing the trade activity in the Punjab. The spatial effects of these developments together with their significance in facilitating a town's role are discussed in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

Roads. An important military activity was road building. Though the railway was considered a faster transport network, it can be seriously hindered and, thus, to rely on it alone was considered a dangerous deception. The road building became major part of military expenditure, making up 87 percent of its cumulative expenditure in the first seven years of the British presence in the Punjab (1849-1856).[32] The roads were, constructed, linking the major cities, from Lahore to Peshawar, Lahore to Multan, and Lahore to Ferozepur. The state categorised the roads in three main classes, reflecting its priorities: military roads, roads for external commerce, and lastly the roads for internal commerce.[33] See Plate 8 in Appendix I for roads in Gujranwala District, Plate 3 in Appendix II for roads in Gujrat District, and Plate 1 of Appendix IV for roads in Montgomery District.

The most ambitious of the road projects was the reconstruction of the ancient Grand Trunk Road, which served both the military and commercial purposes. The proposals for its extension up to Peshawar, linking the major military stations of the Northern India, were drawn right on the annexation of the Punjab in 1849. It was considered to have both the commercial and strategic importance (civil and military purposes), however, the civil purposes were more likely to be an after-thought to justify the construction costs. The section, linking Lahore and Peshawar of Grand Trunk Road, had 103 large and 459 small bridges on the rivers of the Punjab, completed in 1853. The next section was between Lahore and Sutlej River, while the Lahore to Beas section linked Amritsar to Sialkot Cantonment through Wazirabad. Beas to Ludhiana section

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[32] Mazumder, ibid., p. 64.

[33] Gandhi, p. 196.

was built after 1857 while the final section constructed was from Sutlej to Delhi. The road activity continued and all the road projects undertaken by the British since the annexation contributed to raise the metalled roads and unmetalled roads in the Punjab to 3,198 and 25,583 miles respectively, by 1912. This makes up 7.5 percent of all the metalled roads and one-fifth of all the unmetalled roads in the British India by 1912.[34]

Railways. With the beginning of 1860s, the Punjab witnessed an increased construction of railways. The Punjab Railway was officially started on 8 February 1859, at Lahore.[35] With the similar purposes to the extension of the Grand Trunk Road, the government intended to link Calcutta and Peshawar through the 'Great North Western Railroad', connecting all the important military stations and cantonments throughout this route. By 1862, Lahore to Amritsar section was completed. It was further extended to Ghaziabad near Delhi in the east, and to Multan in the south, by 1870. Moreover, a railway line between Kotri in Sindh to Lodran, and to Multan in the Punjab, was completed by the Indus Valley State Railway in 1878, while the Punjab Northern State Railway built a line between Lahore and Jhelum in 1873, and to Peshawar in 1883. These railway lines in the Punjab were closely linked to the military defence purposes, however, later their economic importance was realised by the state. In a decade from 1872 to 1882, the railway lines increased from 410 to 600 miles. In the following two decades, this trend continued with 3086 miles of rail lines by 1902. All these lines became the part of the North Western Railway System in 1886. This System had the highest open mileage in British India with a total of 7092 miles, and the Punjab had 600 railway stations by 1920s (see Figure 2.2). About the 40 percent of these lines were purely for military purposes by 1947. Mazumder argues that these lines were not to have been constructed if they had not been serving the needs of the military. Though the geography of the Punjab, with its large rivers running south-west, suggested the railway to be laid accordingly, the military requirement of securing the frontier borders resulted in the lines crossing these rivers, running north-west to the frontier. However, as these railway lines started functioning, more and more civil populace utilized them.[36] Also, the railway was used to transport the agricultural produce and goods to the sea ports (of Karachi and Bombay)

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[34] Mazumder, pp. 64-67.

[35] John Lawrence, *Report of the formal commencement at Lahore of the Punjaub Railway* (Bristol Selected Pamphlets, University of Bristol Library, 1859), online <http://www.jstor.org/stable/60227554>, [accessed on 14 June 2016], p. 3.

[36] Mazumder, pp. 68-70.

and, thus, served the commercial purposes, increasing the trade activity of the region.[37] The influence of the railways on town's role and form is discussed in Chapters 3, 4 and 5, while the architecture of railway stations in district headquarter towns of the West Punjab is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

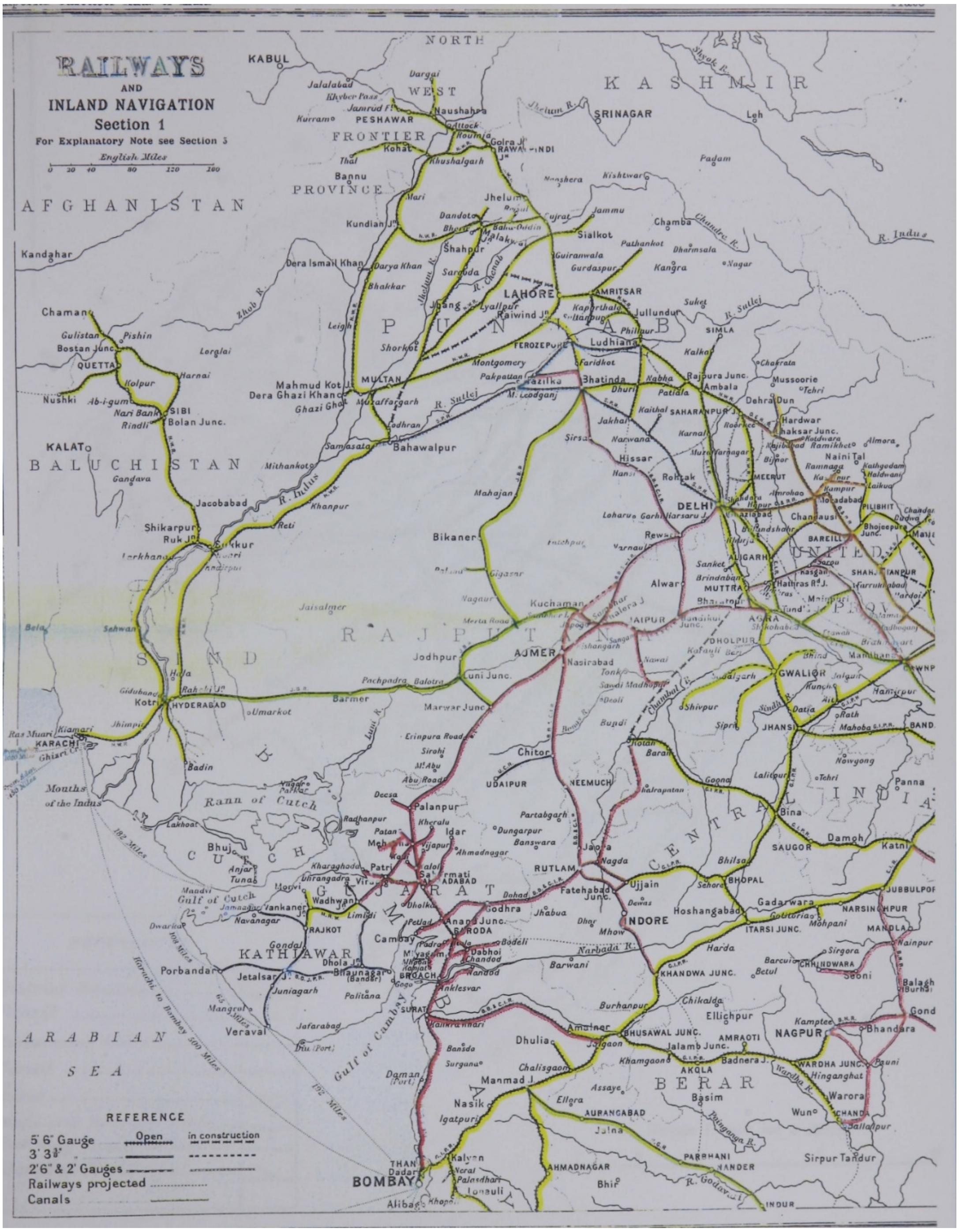

Figure 2.2 Railways and inland navigation, in the Punjab.[38]

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[37] Grewal, p. 289.

[38] *Railways and Inland Navigation*, from Imperial Gazetteer Atlas of India 1909, (The Digital South Asia Library, University of Chicago), online <http://dsal.uchicago.edu/reference/gaz_atlas_1909/pager.html?object=29>, [accessed on 14 June 2016].

Post and Telegraph. The strategy to improve the communication in the region, for mainly defence purposes, led to the development of the post and telegraph system as early as in 1853. By 1855, Peshawar was connected to Lahore, linking it onwards to Calcutta. Also from Karnal to Peshawar, on the Grand Trunk Road, the electric telegraph network was installed east to west, with five major telegraph offices at divisional headquarters of Ambala, Jullundur, Rawalpindi, Lahore and Peshawar. The events of 1857 further proved the usefulness of the post and telegraph system, resulting in the extension of the line to divisional headquarter of Multan and onwards to the sea port of Karachi, without a break, completed in 1859. The system was mainly laid out along the railway lines and roads, following the Grand Trunk Road and establishing quick communication between the smaller and larger stations of the Punjab. Post offices were built at a much faster rate of 901 percent in the Punjab, as compared to 774 percent in the rest of India, thus, between 1870-71 and 1931, their numbers increased from 425 to 4257. In the Punjab, every 52 square miles had a post office, serving 7,708 persons, comparable to the rest of India with a post office for every 74 square miles, serving 14,039 persons. Similarly, every 13 square miles in the Punjab had a letter box, for 1,917 persons, while the rest of India had a letter box for every 21 square miles, serving 3,902 persons. Further, with the development of the canal network in the later decades of the twentieth century, the Irrigation Department had its own telegraphic system, that linked every canal rest-house and canal outpost at the canal headworks to the canal divisional headquarters. The state also developed *serais* (travel lodges), *dak* bungalows (hostelries), guarded by police force, at regular intervals throughout the main roads, located alongside the store houses, *thana* (police office) and *tehsil* (subdivision) office and encamping grounds for the troops. See Plate 7 in Appendix I for location of police offices in Gujranwala District, Plate 9 and 10 in Appendix III for police jurisdiction and *thana* limits in Gujrat District, and Plate 7 in Appendix IV for police divisions in Montgomery District. *Dak* bungalows were constructed at intervals of 10 miles along the Grand Trunk Road. These services were to facilitate both the troops and the travellers.[39] The architecture of these facilities in district headquarter towns of the West Punjab is discussed in Chapter 6.

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[39] Mazumder, pp. 63, 71-73.

2.3 Later Development of the Punjab as an Agricultural Province (1880s-1947)

The early phase of colonial rule in the Punjab was characterised by the provision of order and stability to the region, resulting in the development of transportation and communication networks i.e. railways, roads and telegraph systems, together with the cantonments for the army personnel. In the later decades of nineteenth century, however, the interventionist forces dominated the colonial policy, resulting in the development of the Punjab as India's model agricultural province.[40] This was achieved mainly by the agricultural colonisation (also referred to as canal colonisation) through nine major canal projects, namely, in chronological order, the Sidhnai, Sohag Para, Chunian, (Lower) Chenab, (Lower) Jhelum, Lower Bari Doab, Upper Chenab, Upper Jhelum and Nili Bar. These canal projects were later referred as canal colonies and were located in the Punjab's western *doabs* (inter-fluvial tracts) of Bari, Rachna and Jech, lying between the rivers Beas-Sutlej and Ravi, rivers Ravi and Chenab, and rivers Chenab and Jhelum, respectively (see Figure 2.3). Sind Sagar Doab, lying between the rivers Jhelum and Indus, however, remained unconquered during the British Rule, largely because of its uneven topography and lack of technology to deal with such a trail.[41]

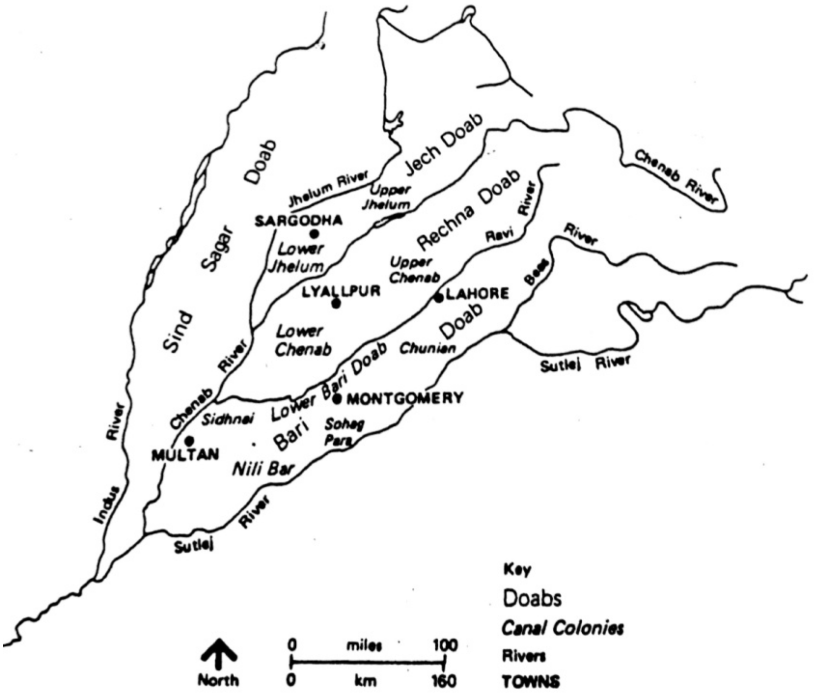

Figure 2.3 Map showing canal colonies and western *doabs*.[42]

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[40] Talbot, pp. 3, 5.

[41] Imran Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism, 1885-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 5, 8, 18.

[42] Ali, ibid., p. 1.

Beginning in 1882, these canal colonies were mainly launched in an area that was officially declared as Crown Wasteland, sanctioned by the Government of India in 1885, thus, legitimising the state control over the Punjab's wasteland. These colonies were amalgamated in the districts as soon as most of the land was allotted, and by 1940, all the canal colonies became part of the districts, forming 10 canal colony districts, namely, Multan, Montgomery, Lyallpur, Jhang, Lahore, Sheikhupura, Shahpur, Gujranwala, Gujrat, and Sialkot (see Figure 2.4). The western *doabs* where these canal colonies were developed were hitherto sparsely populated, rainfall deficient, and almost uncultivated plains. This feature of the canal colonisation in the sparsely populated tracts of the West Punjab make it unique from the development in the eastern and other parts of the British India where usually the canals were constructed in the already settled land.[43] This section will discuss the main purposes and effects of this agricultural colonisation by briefly outlining the land distribution policy in each canal colony, locating them in the context of districts in which these were located, where possible. This will not, however, cover the issues of construction of these canal projects and related engineering, hydraulic system or administrative problems faced by the Punjab Government at that time.

The Punjab's geography with its large rivers and *doabs* was considered suitable for canal construction from the early 1860s, however, railways were still considered more profitable and a better way of opening up the unpopulated and uncultivated areas of the West Punjab. This postponed the building of large canal works till 1880s when the financial feasibility of these canal projects was safeguarded.[44] The change of policy in 1880s was partly due to the costly construction of railways for purely military purposes in the beginning, and partially due to the fact that the uncultivated and unpopulated land in the western *doabs* was considered a waste. While Michel, cited by Zafar, argues that the reason for the delay was unprofitability, technical inadequacy and poor working of initial canal projects in the East Punjab, Paustian, cited by Zafar, is rather skeptical of this profit motive since the state itself proposed these canal projects. Hirashima, cited by Zafar, favours economic and political considerations as the main reasons behind the major canal projects. Siddiqui, cited by Zafar, argues for preference to railway due to rapid returns it brought compared to canal irrigation, and has linked the canal

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[43] Mazumder, p. 76.

[44] Ali, p. 5.

construction to process of colonisation itself.[45] Increasing the agricultural production of the region to extract more revenue, together with developing it as an exemplary agricultural province may seem to be the primary causes, however, Ali maintains that this economic development went far beyond these initial purposes with far-reaching social, political and economic effects on the canal colony districts.[46] The western region of the Punjab was less populated in comparison with its eastern part. To relieve the population burden of these overcrowded eastern districts became another factor influencing the land distribution policy in the canal colony districts. Some other aspects include the British desire to settle the colony land with the efficient agriculturists, and improving the living standards of rural populace. The official purposes also transformed during the course of canal colony settlements, the utilisation of these colonies for achieving the military demands is a note-worthy change in policy in the later colonies.[47]

After the annexation 1849, the Punjab was declared a non-regulation province, giving the room to manoeuvre the land rights, based on Regulation VII of 1822 implemented at that time.[48] Earlier, the policy of the laissez faire led to simple and direct administrative system in the Punjab, through the office of the district officer with a brief code for courts in 1853.[49] In 1862 and 1868, the Indian Penal Code and the first Punjab Tenancy Act, fixing the land rights of various classes more firmly, arose from the British aim to regulate land revenue collection system. Act XXX of 1871 and Northern India Canal and Drainage Act of 1873, regulating the revenue assessments of canal irrigated lands, was based on the principle of short period revenue settlement to maximise the future extensions. Legislation regarding the lease of Government Wastelands in 1885 legalised the Government's control over this area. To the problem of transfer of land from the agriculturists to the *bania* (money-lender), the Government responded by passing Land Improvement Loan Act of 1883 and the Agriculturists Loan Act of 1884, which limited the powers of *banias.* These legislations, however, failed due to their narrowness. Further, the legislation needed for colonising the land was covered by the Punjab Tenancy Act of 1887 and the Government Tenants (Punjab) Act of 1893, creating tenancies-at-will with Government as landlord.[50] This was followed by the Land

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[45] Fareeha Zafar, 'The Impact of Canal Construction on the Rural Strutures of the Punjab: The Canal Colony Districts, 1880 to 1947' (doctoral thesis, University of London, SOAS, 1981), pp. 20-23, 47.

[46] Ali, pp. 13.

[47] Ali, ibid, p. 14.

[48] Zafar, pp. 25-27.

[49] Mazumder, p. 102.

[50] Zafar, pp. 25-27.

Alienation Act of 1900 which restricted the land transfer from the agricultural classes to non-agricultural tribes, strengthening the feudal structure in the Punjab.[51] This Act of 1900 marked the departure from the laissez faire policy to more interventionist policy and was considered almost revolutionary.[52] Mainly drawn with the purpose to stop expropriation of agriculturalist by moneylenders and traders, this act gave legal basis to the government for determining the eligibility of the various groups for land grants in the canal colonies by providing the lists of agricultural castes in each district of the Punjab. This act, Ali maintains, demonstrated the paternalistic behaviour of the British officials for maintaining the social classes for their own political stability in the Punjab.[53] Further, with the purpose of limiting sales of land and to improve conditions of landowners, the Government took other legislative steps by passing Punjab Pre-emption Act (Act II) of 1905, the Court of Wards Act, and the Agricultural Debt Limitations Act. While in the earlier colonies, the land rights were given to the settlers, in later colonies, however, the government ended this policy of purchasing the land rights due to the fear of losing the land it owned and controlled. As the canal colonisation proceeded, and with the reduction of valuable fertile land, the subdivision of land holdings increased, to control which the Government introduced the Colony Bill in 1906. The failure of this Bill led to the revision of the legislation through Land Alienation Acts of 1912 and 1920.[54]

In the later decades of nineteenth century, the Punjab was developed as India's model agricultural province through the canal networks.[55] As a result, the Punjab was considered a "favoured child" of the British India and a "beneficiary" of colonial rule. This image of the prosperous Punjab is challenged by scholars, like Mukherjee and Hamid, cited by Ali, discussing that the Punjab, too, suffered underdevelopment and remained backward mainly because it was not industrialised and its agricultural development was carried out at the expense of other regions.[56] No doubt, however, the Punjab was altered altogether when the millions of acres of land, which was hitherto barely populated and barren, was brought under cultivation, giving enormous revenue to the British, with a massive increase of the Punjab's population, particularly in its

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[51] Guilhem Cassan, 'Identity-Based Policies and Identity Manipulation: Evidence from Colonial Punjab' in *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 7, Pt. 4 (2015), 103-131 (pp. 107-108).

[52] Mazumder, pp. 102-106.

[53] Ali, pp. 48-49.

[54] Zafar, pp. 28-29.

[55] Talbot, p. 3.

[56] Imran Ali, 'Malign Growth? Agricultural Colonisation and the Roots of Backwardness in the Punjab', in *Past & Present* 114, (February 1987), 110-132 (pp. 111-113).

western canal colony districts.[57] This economic development of the Punjab endangered the imperial imperative of peace, order and control in the Punjab, resulting in the dichotomy between the economic growth and the political stability evident in the colonial policy, in Talbot's opinion.[58]

Ali maintains that the role of the state in this process is of tremendous importance. Land with its declaration as the Crown Wastelands resulted in state control over its distribution and utilisation, which together with the control over water resources, acted as a tool of authority, and, thus, manipulation and appropriation of these resources. Further, the loyalty and prosperity of the Punjab's cultivators for political stability of the region, was central to the British policy. This was achieved through the strict land distribution policies. By patronising the elite and influential class of the rural Punjab, the British ensured the order and peace in the region. Thus, the economic development through the agricultural colonisation itself, acted as a tool to political control and stability. Scholars also argue that the British under-estimated the potential of commercial, urban and trading classes, mainly relying and supporting the rural elites, in order to ensure political stability in the region, on the expanse of the commercial motives, undermining the transformation through the economic growth.[59] Thus, despite the claim of agricultural growth and 'modernising' the region, the society remained tied to its indigenous system, for this ensured political stability of the colonial state, resulting in what Washbrook, cited by Talbot, has called a 'Janus-faced' system ("Its public face enforced modern commercial transaction and its private face reinforced primordial 'traditional' status").[60] Similarly, Fox, cited by Mazumder, discusses the contradiction of the political economy of the British state where there is an imperial requirement to maximise the land revenue with minimum revolution in the labour system.[61]

2.3.1 Land Distribution Policies in Canal Colony Districts

Starting in 1880s, with the small projects of Sidhnai, Sohag Para and Chunian Colonies, the canal development culminated in the large projects of (Lower) Chenab and (Lower) Jhelum Colonies, and the much ambitious triple canal project of Upper Chenab, Upper Jhelum and Lower Bari Doab Colonies. The last canal developed ending the canal

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[57] Gopal Krishan, 'Demography of the Punjab (1849-1947)', in *Journal of Punjab Studies* 11, Pt. 1 (2004), 77-89 (pp. 79-81).

[58] Talbot, p. 5.

[59] Zafar, pp. 29-30.

[60] Talbot, p. 8.

[61] Mazumder, p. 77.

colonisation in the Punjab in 1940s was Nili Bar Canal.[62] See Figure 2.4 for the location of these nine colonies in the western districts of the Punjab that became part of Pakistan upon independence 1947. This section will discuss the variation of land allocation policies in early and later colonies, by briefly delineating the policy in each of these nine canal colonies.

Figure 2.4 Map showing Canal Colonies in their respective districts of the Punjab. Also Red line shows the partition of Punjab in 1947 into East Punjab (on right) and West Punjab (on left), located in India and Pakistan, respectively.[63]

Early Colonies

Situated in Multan District, Sidhnai Colony was the first canal colony settled between 1886 and 1888 (see Figure 2.4). The work for the construction of Sidhnai Canal from the river Ravi began in 1882.[64] It had a total allotted area of around 250,000 acres after its further extension in the 1890s. Due to the fact that this colony received seasonal canal

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[62] Ali, p. 5.

[63] Author's own illustration.

[64] Zafar, p. 48.

irrigation, the minimum size of landholding was kept at 50 acres, wherein the land grantees had to build wells for *rabi* (spring) crops and, thus, required capital investment.[65]

In 1886-1888, another canal colony, Sohag Para, was settled in Montgomery District of the Punjab (see Figure 2.4). This canal was constructed from the river Sutlej.[66] Similar to Sidhnai Colony in seasonal canal irrigation with the requirement of investment in well building, this colony had a total allotted area of around 86,300 acres, with an average grant size of 55.5 acres, distributed primarily among rich peasants or landlords.[67]

The main policy, in these two colonies of Sidhnai and Sohag Para, was to reduce population in the overcrowded eastern and central districts of the Punjab, in addition to improving the agricultural production by settling these colonies with the colonists that the British considered more skilled and reliable agriculturists.[68] This resulted in settling the Sidhnai Colony with grantees from the Central Punjab districts of Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur and Ferozepur, also considered as the most skillful agriculturists.[69] Around 40 percent of land was, however, allotted to grantees from home district of Multan, wherein an almost same proportion of land was allotted to grantees from districts of Lahore and Amritsar. In terms of castes, this early Sidhnai colony set a precedent for the later colonies; most land was allotted to “dominant” castes with landholding status while the non-landed, service and unskilled castes remained poor. The landholding caste, the Jat, received three-quarter of allotted area in this colony. Other dominant castes to which land was allotted included, Kambohs, Arains, Syeds, Shaikhs, Afghans, and Rajputs.[70] Similar to Sidhnai, in Sohag Para Colony too, with the official’s preference to men of dominant agricultural castes, Jat Sikhs received 30,000 acres with an average grant size of around 60 acres. This makes 30 percent of the total area and also their grant size was larger than that allotted to other peasant castes of Arains, Kambohs and Mahtams with 6 percent, 8 percent and 8 percent of allotted land respectively. Other grants were mainly given to indigenous tribes of home district of Montgomery, such as Wattus, Bilochis, Joiyas, and Dhudhis, and Muslim Jats and Rajputs, one village was allotted to each of them.[71] Also, a large grant of about 7,798 acres

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[65] Ali, p. 14.
[66] Zafar, p. 48.
[67] Ali, pp. 14-15.
[68] Zafar, pp. 77, 187, 189.
[69] Ali, p. 44.
[70] Ali, ibid., pp. 45-46.
[71] Ali, ibid., pp. 46-48.

(4.5 percent of allotted area), was given to the Khatri Sikhs, kinsmen and followers of Baba Sir Khem Singh Bedi.[72] In these two early colonies, the tenancy conditions permitted the grantees to buy proprietary rights to the land after five years.[73]

The next colony, Chunian, was settled in two stages: southern block in 1896-1898 and northern block in 1904-1906. It had 102,500 acres of allotted land and was situated in Lahore District (see Figure 2.4).[74] This colony differed from the early two colonies in its provision of perennial irrigation, making possible variety of land grant sizes. It had mainly three grant categories: peasant, civil and military grants. In addition, some area was also reserved for auction. To avoid sub-tenancy and to maintain socio-economic status of agricultural communities, the government gave Peasant grants to the self-cultivators of peasant landholding background, receiving 80,382 acres or 78.45 percent of allotted area. Military grants of 1,937 acres were made to army pensioners, while 5,000 acres of allotted area was for civil grants, to reward government officials for their services. The size of civil grants varied from 50 to 250 acres, wherein most grantees were absentee rentier landlords with little or no self-cultivation.[75] This colony was unique in a sense that its grantees belonged to the home district of Lahore. The majority of grants in the first phase, southern block, were allotted to the agricultural castes, mainly Jats, Kambohs and Arain.[76] By the second phase, northern block, the government had the basis of Land Alienation Act of 1900, to determine agricultural castes of this district.[77] The rich non-agriculturalists also obtained land under civil grants and land auctions. Land auction of 12,044 acres or 11.75 percent of allotted area, sell at market prices, provided immediate profits to the state.[78]

After the Chunian Colony, Chenab (or Lower Chenab), was the largest canal colony project of over 2 million acres of allotted area, settled between 1892 and 1905, with extensions in the late 1900s and mid-1930s, allotting around 19 million acres in total. The early proposals for constructing this canal from river Chenab in 1866 with its revision in 1872, was rejected by the Government for inadequate guarantee of financial returns. The early inundation Lower Chenab Canal, built in 1887, was converted into

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[72] Gandhi, p. 243.
[73] Zafar, p. 87.
[74] Zafar, p. 75.
[75] Ali, pp. 15-16.
[76] Ali, ibid., pp. 48-49.
[77] Cassan, pp. 107-108.
[78] Ali, p. 16.

perennial canal in 1892, resulting in the Chenab Colony.[79] It covered the districts of Lyallpur, Jhang, Gujranwala, Sheikhupura and Lahore (see Figure 2.4). Situated and spread in the southern tract of Rechna Doab, this canal network had three branches: Jhang, Rakh, and Gugera (see Figure 2.5).

Figure 2.5 Map showing Chenab Colony with its main branches: Jhang, Rakh and Gugera.[80]

Three types of grants existed in this colony: peasant (*abadkar*), yeoman (*sufedposh*), and capitalist (*rais*) grants.[81] With an average of 78.3 percent of allotted area, the size of peasant grants varied from half a square to two squares (one square is equal to 27.7 acres[82]) and had no proprietary rights. The change of policy in the later stage in 1899, however, due to the problem of indebtedness and subdivision of holdings, the rights to land were permitted to be purchased.[83] The other two grants, yeoman grants, ranging from 2 to 5 squares with 8.2 percent of allotted area, and capitalist grants, varying from 6 to 20 squares with 7.0 percent of allotted area, however, had proprietary rights with a qualifying period of five years. The grantees for both the peasant and yeoman

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[79] Zafar, pp. 49-50, 74.

[80] B.H. Dobson, *Final Report of the Chenab Colony Settlement* (Lahore: The Superintendent Government Printing, Punjab, 1915), accessed at India Office Record Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. W 1382. (Photographed by Author).

[81] Gandhi, p. 243.

[82] Ali, p. 19.

[83] Zafar, p. 87.

grants were required to be from the landholding agricultural castes. Capitalist grants were mainly intended to reward those who provided political, economic, military or administrative services and, thus, these grantees could belong to both the agricultural and non-agricultural castes. Also, in the case of peasant and yeoman grants, personal residence on the grant was compulsory, this condition was, however, not applicable to capitalist grants and auction lands.[84]

In terms of castes, the Jats were the recipient of 36 percent, while the other castes, Arains, Kambohs, Rajputs received 10.7, 3, 3.3 percent of allotted area, respectively. Under another category, miscellaneous grants, 6.8 percent of allotted area was given to the elite castes of Brahmans, Khatris, Syeds, Qureshis, and Mughals.[85] Following two main objectives of canal colonisation of providing relief to population congestion and to support skilled agriculturalists, 64.6 percent of colony land was allotted to grantees from the districts of Ambala, Ludhiana, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, and Sialkot, while the indigenous people of the districts of Jhang, Gujranwala, and Montgomery received 35.4 percent of this colony's allotted land. These indigenous people included the *Janglis* (the semi-nomadic pastoral tribes of uplands) and the *Hitharis* (the settled agriculturist of riverain tract of this *doab*). In the original scheme, there was no proposal to allot colony land to these indigenous people. However, these grants were given as compensation to these people: to the *Janglis* for the loss of their land utilised in the canal colonies, and to the *Hitharis* for the disastrous environmental effect of canal networks on their lands. Among the *Janglis*, those who could provide proof of paying *tirni* (the grazing tax), in the pre-colonial time, were allotted 24 percent of colony land; 14 acres per family was given to cattle-owners, and those who owned camels, the Biloch tribes, received twice as much land as their cattle-owner tribal men. Traditionally, however, the cattle-owners were considered superior in respect by these Bilochi camel-owners. Further, in grants to these Biloch tribes, the keeping of camels was made compulsory, since it was regarded as an important animal for military transport.[86] The next two colonies, Jhelum and Lower Bari Doab, went further to fulfil the military and imperial purposes.

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[84] Ali, pp. 18-21.

[85] Mazumder, p. 78.

[86] Ali, pp. 49-53.

Later Colonies

Located in Shahpur District of the Jech Doab, Lower Jhelum Canal resulted in the Jhelum (or Lower Jhelum) Colony, settled mainly in 1902-1906 (see Figure 2.4).[87] The original scheme had 75 percent of allotted area of 540,000 acres for peasant grants, 44,000 acres for military and civil or capitalist grants, 15,000 acres for land auction, and 5,000 acres for Punjab Police. There was no yeoman grant in original scheme, for it was viewed to have been unsatisfactory in previous colonies. The land distribution according to original scheme had already begun, when this whole scheme was revised due to the change in policy, incorporating military requirements in colony land. The recommendations of Horse and Mule-breeding Commission, established by the Government of India to investigate horse-breeding in the country, led to the change in the original scheme. To make India self-sufficient in horse supply for its Army, this commission suggested using the colony land for breeding the horses and mules.[88] To attract men of the higher class, the size of peasant horse-breeding grants was increased to 55.5 acres or 2 squares. The earlier grantees selected under the original scheme were rejected and a new selection was carried out keeping in view the quality of animals possessed by grantees. In the words of financial commission, the land distribution was more in line with the imperial purposes than the provincial agrarian ones, and since the land belonged to government, it is for the state to decide about its purpose. The yeoman grants were also incorporated in the revised scheme, with the land allotted mainly to the elite families, known for horse-breeding, keeping 5 to15 mares at the rate of 1.5 squares per mare.[89] Further, 8 large stud farms were allotted to maintain up to 50 mares. For horse-breeding, thus, 54.41 percent of allotted land was reserved, while 9.49 percent of allotted land was for military grants. Less than half of the original scheme (44,000 acres) was allotted as civil grants. The *Janglis* were the only exception to military grants, receiving 60,926 acres (14 percent) of allotted area.[90] Unlike the previous colonies, for Jhelum Colony, grantees were selected by colony official W.M. Hailey, from the Rawalpindi division, mainly for the good reputation of this division in army recruitments. These included five districts of Gujrat, Hazara, Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Shahpur, while

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[87] Zafar, p. 75.

[88] Zafar, ibid., p. 191.

[89] Ali, pp. 23-29.

[90] Gandhi, p. 243.

the grantees from the districts of Gujranwala and Sialkot, also received small landholdings in this colony.[91]

The next three colonies became part of the much aspiring project, Triple Canal Project, created to excess the water from the three rivers Ravi, Chenab and Jhelum, primarily to compensate for the shortage of water in river Ravi. This project consisted of three separate but interlinked canals of Lower Bari Doab, Upper Chenab and Upper Jhelum, situated in Bari, Rachna and Jech *doabs*, respectively (see Figure 2.6).[92] The original scheme proposed an ambitious total of 45 million acres to be irrigated by these three canals, when this project was realised, however, only 4 million acres were irrigated.[93]

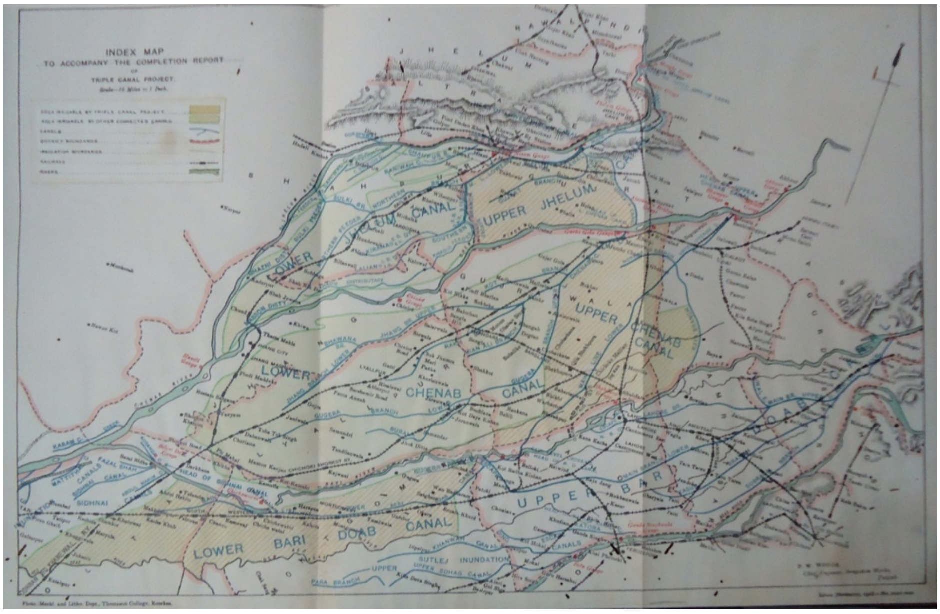

Figure 2.6 Map showing Triple Canal Project.[94]

Situated in the districts of Montgomery and Multan, Lower Bari Doab Colony was settled between 1914 and 1924, wherein a variety of land grants existed in a total allotted area of 900,000 acres (see Figure 2.4 and Figure 2.6). Likewise Jhelum Colony, this colony also had horse-breeding grants and military grants. Other types of grants included grants for the indigenous population, grants for the landed gentry, peasant grants and compensation grants.[95] The peasant grants were reduced to 67 percent, out of which 57

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[91] Ali, p. 55.

[92] Zafar, pp. 51-52.

[93] Zafar, ibid., p. 77.

[94] R. Egerton Purves, *Completion Report of the General Estimate of the Construction of the Triple Canal Project*, dated 22 Mar 1918, Vol. 1 (Lahore: The Superintendent Government Printing, Punjab, 1919), accessed at Secretariat Library, Punjab Archives Lahore, bookshelf no. 068. (Photographed by Author).

[95] Ali, p. 30.

percent was reserved for grants with the condition of horse-breeding.[96] Further, large land was reserved for the auctions. Land was also reserved for the special purposes of horse runs, for cavalry and for agricultural improvement. Recommendations of an Army Remount Committee in 1912 led to horse-breeding grants with the sense of competition, rather than compulsion as was the case in the Jhelum Colony. Thus, it was decided to allot ordinary peasant grants and reserve a rectangle of 25 acres in each village for horse-breeding. Grantees could then compete to acquire this additional rectangle, on a lease of ten years. The military grants in this colony also differed from the earlier colonies in their purposes.[97] These grants, with the start of World War I, were increased, resulting in a total of 180,000 acres, and were all reserved for veterans rather than military pensioners. This increased the army recruitment from the Punjab in the time of crisis.[98]

Mainly for providing fodder for army horses, a grant of 20,000 acres was given to Oat Hay Farm, managed by the Military Farms Department. This also served as commercial venture generating funds for army. Other commercial grants included 7,220 acres to British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA), two fruit farms, one seed farm of 3,000 acres, and five cattle-breeding farms. Some grants were also made out of political considerations, for instance, grants of 60,000 acres to the landed gentry was to strengthen their economic status in the society. This colony also allotted area of 20,000 acres to the poor under the category of grants to the depressed classes and criminal tribes.[99] For all the civilian grants, men had to belong to the agricultural castes, this condition was, however, not applied to the military grants, made to the war veterans. Grantees from the over populated districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, and Jullundur, mainly belonging to Jat, Arain, Saini, and Kamboh castes, were selected for the civil grants, while the compensatory grants were made to the agricultural castes who lost their lands in the construction of Capital of Delhi and to those who lost their land because of river action.[100] This compensatory grants became the prominent feature of the next two colonies, Upper Chenab and Upper Jhelum, which were mainly created to recompense the unaccomplished purposes of the larger colonies of Lower Chenab, Lower Jhelum, and Lower Bari Doab.

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[96] Mazumder, p. 60.

[97] Ali, pp. 29-36.

[98] Gandhi, p. 245.

[99] Ali, pp. 29-36.

[100] Ali, p. 56.

Upper Chenab Colony, settled in 1915-1919, was located in the districts of Gujranwala, Sialkot, and Sheikhupura of the northern parts of the Rechna Doab (see Figure 2.4 and Figure 2.6). Created chiefly to accommodate the demands that were not met in the large colonies, this colony had an allotment land of 78,800 acres. Under compensatory grants, 24,200 acres were allotted to the people who lost their land through river action or waterlogging. The people in the original scheme who did not receive land due to change of the policy in Jhelum Colony were given 17,000 acres. Civil grants to the government officials as rewards for their services, were allotted an area under 1,000 acres, while 3,000 acres were for the military grants. Further, 15,000 acres was reserved for the forest plantation.

Upper Jhelum Colony, settled in 1916-1921, was located in Gujrat District of the northern parts of Jech Doab (see Figure 2.4 and Figure 2.6). Similar to the Upper Chenab Colony, this colony also had the purpose of compensating for the larger colonies, about 42,300 acres were allotted in this matter. The grantees from the original scheme of Jhelum Colony received around 9,000 acres. Further, 8,000 acres were given, either to the people who suffered from the construction of Khanke weir of Lower Chenab Canal or to the men from Lower Bari Doab Colony who desired to be near their original homes. Military grantees received 5,000 acres, and 7,200 acres were reserved for forest plantation. Another category of grants in this colony was preferential allotment of 6,000 acres, made to those who helped in the criminal administration.[101]

The last canal colony developed was Nili Bar. It was the part of Sutlej Valley Project for states of Bahawalpur and Bikaner started in 1921.[102] This colony was mainly settled from 1925 to 1940s. It provided both the perennial and seasonal irrigation to the state and private lands in the Punjab's districts of Montgomery and Multan (see Figure 2.4). Military grantees as army pensioners, received 9 percent of total perennial irrigated land, about 75,000 acres. Civil peasant grantees, in perennial irrigated area, were given 250,750 acres, and in non-perennially irrigated area, the local inhabitants received 230,400 acres under civil peasant grants. Reward grants received 36,750 acres while criminal tribes and police grants had 5,000 acres each. The colony is unique in its land auctions, for which 45 percent of perennially irrigated area or 362,250 acres were reserved, providing government with immediate profit, making economic and

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[101] Ali, ibid., pp. 36-38.

[102] Zafar, p. 54.

commercial motives as uppermost priority of the state. An average of 15,000 acres was kept available for the land auction at a time in the market to uphold land prices. With the economic depression of 1930s, the land auction suffered severe downfall though it had a promising start in the beginning, the land prices only picked upward gradient in 1940s.[103] Other than these grants, compensatory grants of over 70,000 acres by 1929, were made to the men who suffered waterlogging in the districts of Gujranwala, Gujrat, Sheikhupura, and Sialkot. People who lost land in the river action also received compensatory grants, with the aim of the government to calm the discontent and, thus, to ensure loyalty among the locals. For this colony also, grantees were selected from the overcrowded districts including Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Attock, Ferozepur, Gujrat, Jhelum, Muzaffargarh, and Shahpur.[104]

2.3.2 Effects of Development of the Punjab

The multi-folded effects of the agricultural or canal colonisation include the demographic increase, tremendous increase in the agricultural produce as well as the trading activity resulting in immense profit for the state, and transformation of physical and social environment of the western *doabs* of the Punjab.[105] This section will conclude the chapter by briefly discussing the major demographic, economic, socio-political and ecological or environmental effects of the strategic and economic development of the Punjab. The physical and spatial effects of these developments are discussed in more detail in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

Demographic

The Punjab experienced tremendous increase in its population during the colonial rule. The first population count in the Punjab was conducted in 1855, followed by the similar operation in 1868. These two earlier attempts provided partial coverage, while the first regular census was conducted in 1881, and thereafter, a regular census was conducted at an interval of ten years.[106] The early counts recorded 17.6 million in 1855 and 19.7 million in 1868, while the first regular census in 1881 recorded 20.8 million population in the entire Punjab. The population of the Punjab in the last census conducted in 1941, during the British rule, was 34.3 million, in its 29 districts and 43 princely states. Canal Colonisation is considered to be one of the major reasons for increasing the population

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[103] Zafar, p. 197.

[104] Ali, pp. 57-58.

[105] Ali, ibid., p. 5.

[106] Gandhi, p. 239.

of the Punjab, in its western districts in particular.[107] The nine major canal projects were developed in the western *doabs* that were sparsely populated before the canal colonies. Less rainfall in this area resulted in little cultivation, relying mainly on irrigation through wells or occasional rainfall. Settlements were, thus, small and isolated, grouped in villages along water sources.[108] The *bars* (the uplands), in particular, had widely spaced out and scarcely populated urban centres.[109] This area was largely occupied by the indigenous pastoral tribes, referred as *Janglis* by the British, for whom this area acted as pasture. The rights of these indigenous population were unrecognised by the Government, compensating some of them through limited land grants in the later canal colonies. In settling the newly acquired land in canal colonies, the British, however, preferred the populace of the eastern and central districts of the Punjab. This was due to their policy of relieving the overcrowding of these districts and also because of their perception of considering the people of these districts the most skilled agriculturalists. Thus, the land grants in almost every canal colony resulted in the migration of the people from the eastern and central districts to the western districts of the Punjab. Apart from increasing the population in the western districts, this migration also accelerated the movement of the agricultural classes, and affected the class relations in this region. Overall the major consequence was the tremendous increase in the population of the canal colony districts.[110] The dramatic increase of population was witnessed in Lyallpur, Shahpur and Montgomery, probably because of very low population in these districts prior to canal colonisation (the making of these districts and towns are discussed in Chapters 3 and 5).[111]

Economic

The agricultural colonisation through canal networks provided the colonial state with increased profit. The collection of revenue was the most important source of income.[112] From the onset of the British presence in the Punjab, revenue extraction was their central concern. To ensure efficient collection of revenue, the British officials conducted surveys for revenue assessment. Though the revenue demanded by the colonial state

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[107] Krishan, pp. 79, 84-85.

[108] Ali, 'Malign Growth? Agricultural Colonisation and the Roots of Backwardness in the Punjab', pp. 114-117.

[109] Grewal, p. 290.

[110] Zafar, pp. 96-106.

[111] Ali, pp. 59-61.

[112] Thomas R. Metcalf, 'The struggle over land tenure in India, 1860–1868.' in *The Journal of Asian Studies* 21, Pt. 3 (1962), 295-307 (p. 295).

was lower than that demanded by pre-colonial governments, its efficient collection ensured almost the same amount of revenue, if not more.[113] From 1885 to 1947, the canal-irrigated area in the Punjab was increased from 3,000,000 to around 14,000,000 acres. This not only increased the agricultural produce tremendously, but also generated exceptional profits to the state through revenue extraction and other means.[114] Also noteworthy is the change in the mode of collection of revenue, which previously could be collected in both the cash and kind and took various forms of rent, was now demanded in a fixed cash amount. With more districts coming under regular settlements, the revenue rate reduced from two-third to one half of the net assets.[115] Rise in the revenue was, however, witnessed in the canal-irrigated lands from less than 20 percent of total state collection in 1913 to over 40 percent in 1920s.[116] Apart from the income generated by the revenue collection, the land grants with the sale of the proprietary rights proved profitable, combined with the water tax charged on the sale of colony water. Further, the sale of colony land in auctions in the later colonies provided the state with ready profit at market rates. This too was done by offering small plots for sale at a time in the market, thus, the interested buyers were forced to pay much higher rates.[117]

In agriculture, new cash crops were introduced, including wheat, cotton, tobacco and sugarcane. From 1891 to 1921, the per capita output of all the crops in the Punjab was increased by 45 percent. The result was remarkable, as a tenth of India's cotton and a third of its wheat crop was produced in the Punjab by 1920s.[118] From 1890-91 to 1940-41, the total cropped area in the Punjab increased from 4.43 million acres to 11-95 million acres, 82 percent of this cropped area was irrigated. This represented 46 percent of the total canal-irrigated area in the whole of British India, which is 2.5 times more than that of Madras, the province second to the Punjab in canal-irrigated area, although its total area was more than the Punjab. These are exceptionally high figures as the Punjab had only 9.7 percent of the total area of British India.[119]

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[113] Ali, pp. 4-5.

[114] Ali, ibid., pp. 9-10.

[115] Zafar, pp. 173-175.

[116] Mazumder, p. 80.

[117] Zafar, pp. 93-94, 369.

[118] Talbot, p. 5.

[119] Mazumder, p. 77.

With this increased agricultural production coupled with the development of railway and market towns, the British tied the Punjab to the world economy affecting the trade activity within the region. The Punjab became the most market-oriented, commercial province in Asia during this process. Wheat was one of the most exported cash crops via railway.[120] The prices were now determined by the international markets and government policies. With the rising demand in international market after 1900, the state encouraged the farming of cash crops affecting the cultivation of other crops by its policies and through the Department of Agriculture. The exports of these cash crops of wheat and cotton was mainly to the Europe. Further, the towns, developed as *mandi* (market) centres, established the market economy (the development of headquarter towns as major markets in the districts is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5).[121] The telegraph system in the canal headworks, provided quick means to communicate information about prices in the international markets, while the railway and road networks were now viewed to serve the dual purposes of military requirements and aiding in the trade of the increased agricultural production by connecting the Punjab with the seaports of Karachi and Bombay. New railway projects, in the twentieth century, thus, attempted to bring cultivators within 12 miles of the nearby *mandi* town, to facilitate direct market without the intermediate *bania.* The extension of the Grand Trunk Road, on the other hand, stimulated the commerce by connecting all the major stations and towns.[122] It was mainly this increase in economic activity of the region that served to justify the British rule in the Punjab.[123]

Socio-political

The agricultural colonisation provided the opportunity to the British to restructure the society for its own political purposes. The canal colonies were mainly established on the officially declared Crown Wastelands. This possession of land by the state ensured the land discretion by the state for its own purposes, which together with the control over the water resources, established the state's authoritative and paternalist role as *mai-bap*[124] (parents) in the Punjab. The colonial state had the right to decide all the matters of land, from the land distribution policy to its implementation. This gave immense power and

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[120] Zafar, p. 33.

[121] Zafar, ibid., pp. 278-279, 286, 292-294, 318.

[122] Mazumder, pp. 90-91.

[123] Imran Ali, 'Malign Growth? Agricultural Colonisation and the Roots of Backwardness in the Punjab', pp. 111-113.

[124] Vandal and Vandal, p. 25.

authority to the state to intervene in the affairs of the Punjab compared with elsewhere in India.[125] Gilmartin states that 'For the British, as much as for earlier Indus Basin states, the link between canal building, agricultural settlement, and political control was central to the construction of state power'. The canal colonisation was considered an important element in the British policy for creating commercial, social and political order in the region.[126] Utilisation of land grants, their sizes and the origins of land grantees, resulted in the remodelling of the social structure, in addition to influencing the economic and physical environment of this region.[127]

Land was turned into a commodity and as such was linked to political, economic and social status in the society. The land grants took various forms, including landlord grants, landowning peasant grants, yeomen grants, military grants and service grants. This land organisation, through land grants, resulted in organising the society with an administrative system, facilitating the revenue collection and was advantageous primarily to the rich and those classes that provided political and military support to the British.[128] The agricultural castes of landholding disposition were preferred, getting more land grants in every canal colony. This favouring of elite class had profound impact on the society, entrenching the social and political status of these classes while the landless poor remained poor in this land distribution.[129] The original pastoral inhabitants of the West Punjab suffered the most. Their homeland now declared as the Crown Wasteland, was distributed mainly among the new migrants. The Criminal Tribes Act restricted the liberty and movement of these *Janglis* along with constraints on the natural grazing fields.[130] While the tribal leaders were recognised and converted into large landowners for the political purposes, the British reduced the status of the rest of them to low-level unskilled labourers or tenants in the colony land.[131]

During the Sikh rule, the direct linkage of the state with the cultivator eliminated the intermediaries, restricting the growth of landlord classes in the society.[132] This relation

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[125] Ali, p. 10.

[126] Gilmartin, pp. 1132-1133.

[127] Imran Ali, 'Malign Growth? Agricultural Colonisation and the Roots of Backwardness in the Punjab', p. 116-123.

[128] Zafar, pp. 320-321, 330-333.

[129] Metcalf, 'II. The Influence of the Mutiny of 1857 on Land Policy in India.', pp. 152, 156.

[130] Andrew J. Major. 'State and Criminal Tribes in Colonial Punjab: Surveillance, Control and Reclamation of the 'Dangerous Classes'.' in *Modern Asian Studies* 33, Pt. 3 (1999), 657-688 (pp. 660-661).

[131] Zafar, pp. 365-366.

[132] Zafar, ibid., pp. 167-168.

of state with the cultivator changed during the British rule in the Punjab. On the one hand, the Punjab with its increased agricultural production was modernised and linked to the world economy, while on the other, the imperial imperatives of political control kept the society tied to its tradition, with the patronage of its rural landowning classes as intermediaries between the ruler and the subject.[133] These intermediates, apart from performing the administrative duties of collecting revenue, aided in crushing the rebellious movements and suppressing the discontent to ensure peace.[134] Furthermore, the revenue extraction system based on fluctuating assessment (due to irregular water supply), rather than fixed assessment, increased the reliability of the state on its landed elites and lower bureaucracy as intermediaries.[135] These intermediaries, including *lambardars* (village headmen) and *zaildars* (sub-divisional headmen), not only received a percentage of the land revenue, but also in some cases, land grants in the canal colonies. In addition, the class of *patwari* (keepers of the village records) too enjoyed a raised political and social status in the community.[136] For instance, see Plate 6 in Appendix I, Plate 12 in Appendix II, Plates 2 to 7 in Appendix III, for various fiscal divisions of assessment circles, *zaildar* circles and *patwari* circles, in Gujranwala District, Gujrat District, and Jhang District, respectively. However, the urban bourgeoisie and working classes, pre-industrial in nature, Ali argues, remained unimportant for the British state until the colony towns came into being.[137]

The use of land grants for political purposes is also evident in certain grants, such as yeomen, capitalists and special service or reward grants that were made to the community members on whom the British relied for maintaining the political control and order, in addition to military recruitment. Metcalf emphasises the influence of the events of Mutiny 1857 on this policy of the British, where they favoured those men who have considerable influence in the community.[138] For instance, one such land grant was given to Bedis in Sohag Para Colony, which supported the British during the Mutiny 1857, and also had an extensive influence on the Sikh community.[139] Talbot maintains that this paternalistic and interventionist attitude won over the laissez faire eventually,

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[133] Talbot, pp. 6-8.

[134] Javid, p. 6.

[135] Zafar, pp. 199-201, 207-208.

[136] Zafar, ibid., p. 174.

[137] Ali, p. 10.

[138] Metcalf, 'II. The Influence of the Mutiny of 1857 on Land Policy in India', pp. 162-163.

[139] Ali, p. 17.

and is also reflected in the Land Alienation Act 1900.[140] The passing of this act legitimised the selection process of certain classes for land grants that the British considered superior agriculturalists.[141] This Act also restricted the transfer of land to non-agricultural castes, enabling the state to strengthen the socio-political status of agricultural castes on which it relied primarily for political stability, revenue extraction and military recruitment and, this contributed to what Zafar refers to as class formation.[142]

Besides, the agricultural colonisation provided the opportunity to reward the martial races of the Punjab. Service grants became an important part of the land distribution policy, with the government intentions to benefit its armed men both economically and socially. With the beginning of twentieth century, the Britain got involved in world wars. This had profound influence on the utilisation of the colony land for military purposes, more evident in the later colonies, where often the established state policy was modified to suit military needs. Condition of horse breeding in land distribution policy became decisive factor in the Jhelum Colony, this policy continued in the other colonies developed afterwards, in various ways. Military grants were also allotted to the retired military men, while military grants reserved for war veterans became more prominent during the world wars.[143] This was due to the fact that during World War I, out of the 683,149 Indian troops, 349,688 war combats were recruited from the Punjab.[144] Ultimately, a total of 45,200 acres of colony land was allotted for rewarding war veterans and establishing various farms and runs for the military department. About two-third of the horse breeding for the military usage of British India was conducted in the Punjab.[145] Further, the status of the central districts of the Punjab as the supply area for the military men and the need to pacify the Sikh population in these districts, also had an impact on the selection of grantees for colony land from these areas of the Punjab.[146]

Ecological/Environmental

Transforming the western districts of the Punjab into a hydraulic society with increased agricultural production, Talbot states, was also an effort to reshape the natural and social

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[140] Talbot, pp. 6-7.

[141] Ali, pp. 10-11.

[142] Zafar, pp. 24, 378-379.

[143] Zafar, ibid., pp. 91-92.

[144] Tan Tai Yong, 'An imperial home-front: Punjab and the First World War.' in *The Journal of Military History* 64, Pt. 2 (April 2000), 371-410 (p. 374).

[145] Mazumder, p. 60.

[146] Ali, p. 50.

environment of this region.[147] The British rule of the Punjab, Roy argues, brought a considerable change in the historical continuity, resulting in permanently altering the Punjab's geography.[148] The canal colonisation through perennial canals was a pursuit of technology and engineering that, Zafar maintains, influenced the ecology. This, on the one hand, increased the cultivation of land, while on the other, created the problems of waterlogging and salinity due to over-irrigation and canal seepage.[149] In addition, these canals encouraged the wasteful use of water. The actual area irrigated by the canal was 100 percent, above the permissible limit for which the canal was designed. For instance, in most cases, the canals were designed to irrigate only 60 percent of the allotted area. Another problem arose was the irregularity and deficiency in the water supply of the canals. This was partly due to the over ambitious canal projects that were result of the extensions in the original project schemes.[150]

The Punjab with its varying ecological zones, ranging from the sub-montane tracts through the river plains to the semi-desert areas, posed a challenge to the British and acted as an experimental ground for them. In the pre-colony times, agriculture and grazing was in clearly defined zones.[151] Banga indicates four main and distinct ecological zones of the Punjab, including tracts east and west of Punjab's capital city of Lahore. The western tracts were further sub-divided into south-western river valleys and north-western hilly tracts. The *bars* (the dry uplands) of the western tracts, consisted of the Ganji Bar and Nili Bar in the Lower Bari Doab, Sandal Bar in the lower Rechna Doab, Kirana Bar in the Jech Doab, and the Thal in the lower Sind Sagar Doab. In the pre-colonial times, the land-use, land rights, agricultural activity, economy and living styles, were all in accordance with the climate and natural resources of each zone (discussed in Chapter 1).[152] The British, however, planned to make new agricultural communities in these less populated, pastoral areas of the western tracts of the Punjab. This led to the division of land into rural and urban zones, where the former consisted of agricultural land and villages, and the later was characterised by the development of new and old towns to act as markets for these agricultural produce (development of old and new towns is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5). Both these zones assisted each other and were

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[147] Talbot, p. 7.
[148] Roy, p. 1.
[149] Zafar, p. 39.
[150] Zafar, ibid., pp. 65-68, 110.
[151] Zafar, ibid., pp. 40-41.
[152] Indu Banga, 'Ecology and Land Rights in the Punjab', in *Journal of Punjab Studies* 11, Pt. 1 (no date), 59-76 (pp. 60-61, 65-66).

interlinked by the new transportation networks of railway and roads, resulting in connecting the Punjab to the international market.[153]

The landscape of the pre-colonial Punjab during Mughal and Sikh rule was dotted by various water sources such as wells, inundation canals, rivers and other small water streams and channels. These water sources were mostly private properties, however, the ruling authority encouraged and helped in their construction, cleaning, and also in reclaiming the wasteland and acquiring loans. Nonetheless, these water sources were in a state of ruin at the time of annexation 1849, mainly due to the political instability or the natural shift of river courses. With the development of the canal network for irrigation by the British state, there occurred a change in ownership of the water supply, consequently leading to the responsibility for construction and maintenance of these large canals being put in the hands of the state. In the southwestern districts of the Punjab, mainly *bars,* where these canals were developed, the local indigenous tribes were the virtual rulers in the absence of strong central control. Here, the land rights on the basis of well-building, embankment and cultivation were recognised, unlike the hereditary basis of land rights in the eastern districts. These water sources and embankments also determined the pattern of settlement. Further, under the Mughals and the Sikhs, there had been an easy and free access to fuel and timber, and grazing in these wastelands. A tax, *tirni*, was charged for grazing in the *Rakhs* that were official state wastelands. This practice continued in the British rule with the Government rights over wasteland fixated by First Land Revenue Act XXXIII of 1871. The original proposal of the British Government to keep 20 percent of gross land in each village for grazing was reduced to 10 percent, comprising of worst quality land.[154]

In the pre-colonial times, the land rights were determined in the form of *jagirs* (revenue assignments), recognising the rights of various cultivators. During the Sikh rule, ownership was largely determined by actual land possession and cultivation.[155] These rights were also inheritable, though chiefly relying on the will of the ruler. During the British rule, the hereditary ownership, ignored by the Sikh rulers, was re-established, where possible, partly influenced by the Mutiny 1857. This also affected the decrease in revenue demand.[156] The necessity of the state to define the responsibility of the revenue

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[153] Zafar, pp. 72, 78, 106, 289.

[154] Zafar, ibid., pp. 39, 79, 124, 165-167, 180-181.

[155] Banga, p. 62.

[156] Zafar, pp. 161, 164, 169-170, 176.

payment, led to fixating the land rights based on Regulation VII of 1822, with the determination of different tenancy categories, under the Tenancy Act XXVIII of 1868. The society was divided into landowning classes and tenants, with landowners having the responsibility to pay revenue.[157] The state for the first time in the Punjab established individual property rights which marked the shift from collective ownership practised in pre-colonial times. Thus, individual property rights together with increasing marketing capacity of agricultural produce, gave land a monetary value. The land prices continued to rise as the canal colonisation progressed and, thus, turned the land into a commodity, possession of which ensured social and political status in addition to having economic value.[158] Further, the political stability together with the development of road and railways, and absence of other investment opportunities, also contributed to increasing the land value in the Punjab. In addition to the increased agricultural production, the land auctions in later colonies also affected the land value due to eagerness of non-agriculturalists to buy colony land. Besides, because the land for auction was usually of high quality, the competition among agriculturalist and non-agriculturist classes to acquire this land raised the land prices, benefitting only the rich classes.[159]

Another noticeable aspect in the land organisation is the size of the land holdings. Prior to the agricultural colonisation, this size varied with the type of water irrigation, resulting in larger uncultivated land in the *bar* area and small holdings in the riverine regions (see the ecology and settlement during the pre-colonial times discussed in Chapter 1). Well irrigation also had an impact, depending on the area it can irrigate. The usual size of well irrigated land holdings vary from 15 to 30 acres. This limit, however, did not exist in lands irrigated by the inundation canals. With the perennial canal built during the later decades of nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the colonial state had more flexibility in creating the holdings of any size according to its policies. This considerably increased the sizes of cultivated land holdings, and resulted in systematic organisation of cultivated land into squares, through surveys mainly to estimate the land revenue (discussed in Chapter 3).[160]

In the rural landscape, during the British rule, the isolated settlements with wells and embankment were grouped together to form village communities, while the water

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[157] Zafar, ibid., pp. 25, 162, 203-204, 244-245, 264.

[158] Ali, pp. 4-5.

[159] Zafar, pp. 251, 265, 271-274, 277.

[160] Zafar, ibid., pp. 346, 351-352.

rights became a state matter, fixated by the Northern India Canal and Drainage Act VII of 1873, and later the Punjab Minor Canals Act III of 1905. This eventually separated the agriculturalists from the non-agriculturists, affecting the balance between agricultural and pastoral activity.[161] In urban areas, the number, size and function of towns, increased, with newly founded market and administrative towns, in canal-irrigated western tracts of the Punjab, unlike the pre-colonial times, when the urban centres were concentrated in the eastern plains of the Punjab. Grewal argues that in the urban process of the Punjab the combination of polity with technology became crucial factors during the British rule, unlike the past when geography and economy were the main players of the urban process. By 1940, there was one town for every 518 square kilometres in the Punjab, three percent of the total urban settlements were cities, now spread all over the region, while 17 percent were medium sized towns and 80 percent were the small towns.[162] This resulted in altering the natural environment of the Punjab that, Banga argues, 'led to "an ecological watershed" with a qualitatively different political order, economic organisation and technological developments'.[163] The development of towns during the colonial times is discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

A significant change was also witnessed in the cropping pattern where now the growth of crops was in relation to market demands internationally, with a tremendous increase in the production of cash crops than the food grains. Besides, through the development of railway and roads, improvement of communication by the post and telegraph system, expansion of old towns and planning of new towns and villages, the Punjabi life was transformed. These new colonial projects developed as exemplary works, that, Glover argues, are the outcome of the colonial assumption that 'moral development depends on a properly ordered material world'.[164] The development of towns during the colonial times is discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

2.4 Conclusion

In the Punjab, though the British ruled only for about a century, from 1849 to 1947, the colonial impact on the region's landscape and society is tremendous and multi-fold. The strategic importance of the Punjab and its economic potential led to the development of

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[161] Zafar, ibid., pp. 182, 184-185.

[162] Grewal, pp. 289-293.

[163] Banga, p. 59.

[164] William J. Glover, 'Objects, Models, and Exemplary Works: Educating Sentiment in Colonial India', in *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, Pt. 3 (August 2005), 539-566 (pp. 540-541).

transportation and communication networks together with cantonments, and its agriculture and trade activity through canal colonies. While on the one hand, imperial exigencies of power and defence to deal with this frontier region, in wake of the Russian presence in the Central Asia, resulted in the conservative policies, on the other, the economic needs of the British Empire led to transformative policies to develop the region's agricultural produce and trade. The two policies, though in conflict, often worked together where the strategic developments for solely military defensive purposes also aided to the region's economy and transformation in the later phase and the agricultural colonisation also acted as a social and political tool to maintain peace and authority. Besides, the discussion in this chapter leads to question of how the regional space was affected by these strategic and economic developments, this spatial development of West Punjab is the focus of next Chapter 3.

3 . Shaping the Districts for Imperial Purposes

Chapter 3 of Thesis

3.1 Introduction

The Punjab witnessed considerable transformation in terms of urbanisation, landscape and economy from its annexation by the British in 1849, until the end of British rule upon independence in 1947. Acting as an experimental ground, space in the Punjab was at the discretion of its rulers, continually reorganised for imperial purposes over this period. However, this relationship between the Punjab's strategic and economic development (discussed in the previous Chapter 2) and the development of its regional space for imperial purposes, is a partially studied area. Concentrating on the western *doabs* of the Punjab (presently in Pakistan), this chapter will explore the restructuring of space through the making of new districts, and establishment of headquarter towns, reflecting the introduction of new forms of governance during the British rule. Moreover, the chapter will also touch upon the new forms of governance, administration of the region, agricultural or canal colonisation, and new style of cartography that are evident in various regional and district maps. In the second section of the chapter, the role of the towns with the emergence of certain towns as district headquarters will be discussed in the light of the necessity of the imperial system to extend its political and economic authority throughout the region. This will also highlight the influence of these roles of the town on the evolution of town's form during the colonial times, which sets the stage for the next chapters wherein the town forms are analysed in detail. Various archival sources, including historical maps of districts, district gazetteers, and governmental reports have been consulted alongside the literature review, to analyse the shaping of the space in eight districts of Gujranwala, Gujrat, Sialkot, Sheikhupura, Shahpur, Jhang, Montgomery, and Lyallpur, for the imperial purposes.

3.2 Organisation and Administration of the Region in Pre-colonial Times

Before the British annexation of the Punjab in 1849, the Sikhs ruled the Punjab in the declining Mughal authority in this region from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. Lahore was made the capital of the Sikh Kingdom during the reign of Ranjit Singh in 1799. The Punjab during the Singh's rule was a vast region. It was spread to the borders of Afghanistan beyond Peshawar in the West to the borders of the

Mughal Kingdom's Capital at Delhi, and from the borders of the Tibet beyond Kashmir in the North to the borders of Sindh beyond Multan and Bahawalpur in the south, (geography and history of the Pre-colonial Punjab is discussed in Chapter 1). Ruling from the capital at Lahore, the country was governed using the Mughal administrative system, in which the Punjab was divided into two *subas* (larger administrative unit equivalent to province or division) of Lahore and Multan. These two *subas* were partitioned into several *sarkars* (administrative units almost equivalent to districts), and were further sub-divided into *parganahs* (collection of villages).[1] Figure 3.1, and Figure 3.2 show the two *subas* of Lahore and Multan in the Indian Subcontinent's map during the reign of the Emperor Akbar, while the Figure 3.3, and Figure 3.4 show the spread of the Sikh Kingdom of the Punjab, during the Ranjit Singh's Rule, and the administrative division of the Gujrat into various *parganah*s, as an example, during the Sikh Rule. Also see, Plate 2 of Appendix I for political divisions of Gujranwala District during the Sikh rule, Plate 4 of Appendix II for the division of Gujrat District under Emperor Akbar, Plate 5 and Plate 6 of Appendix II for the division of Gujrat District under the Sikh rule, Plate 7 of Appendix II for old *zails* of Gujrat District, Plate 5 and Plate 6 of Appendix IV for divisions of Montgomery District during the Sikh rule.

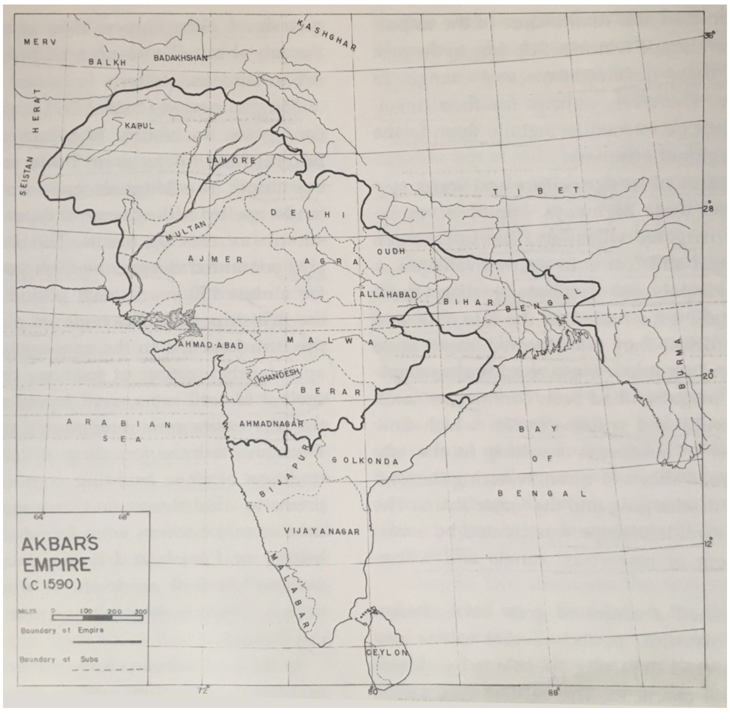

Figure 3.1 Map of India during the reign of Mughal Emperor Akbar (c.1590), when the region of the Punjab was divided into two *subas*; Lahore and Multan.[2]

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[1] Abdul Rehman, *Historic Towns of Punjab: Ancient and Medieval Period* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1997), p. 15.

[2] Rehman, ibid., p. 15.

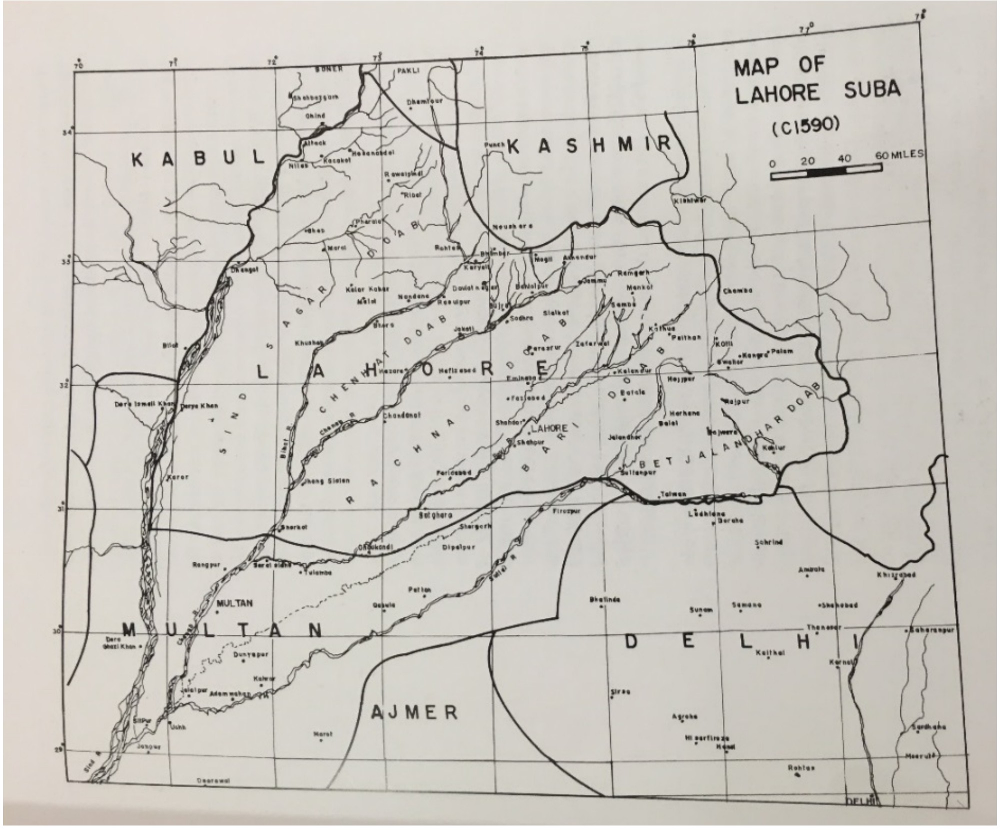

Figure 3.2 Map of Lahore *suba*, c.1590.[3]

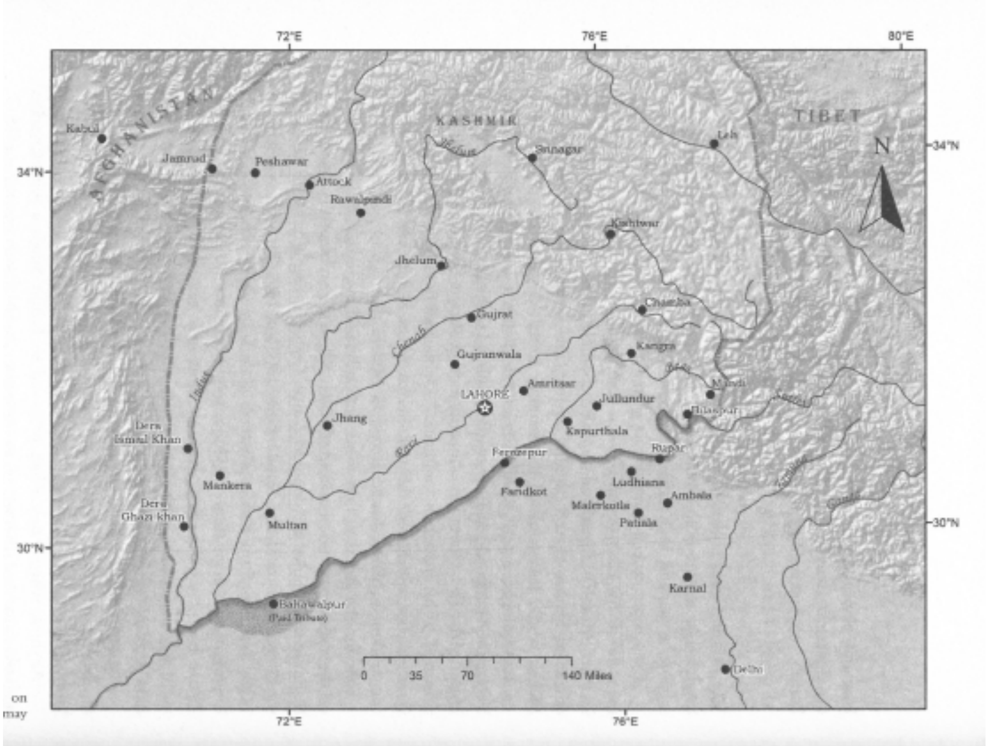

Figure 3.3 Map of Sikh Kingdom, during the Ranjit Singh's Rule.[4]

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[3] Abdul Rehman, and James L. Wescoat Jr., *Pivot of the Punjab: The Historical Geography of Medieval Gujrat* (Lahore: Dost Associates Publishers, 1993), p. 53.

[4] Rajmohan Gandhi, *Punjab: A History from Aurangzeb to Mountbatten* (New Delhi: Aleph Book Company, 2013), p. 148.

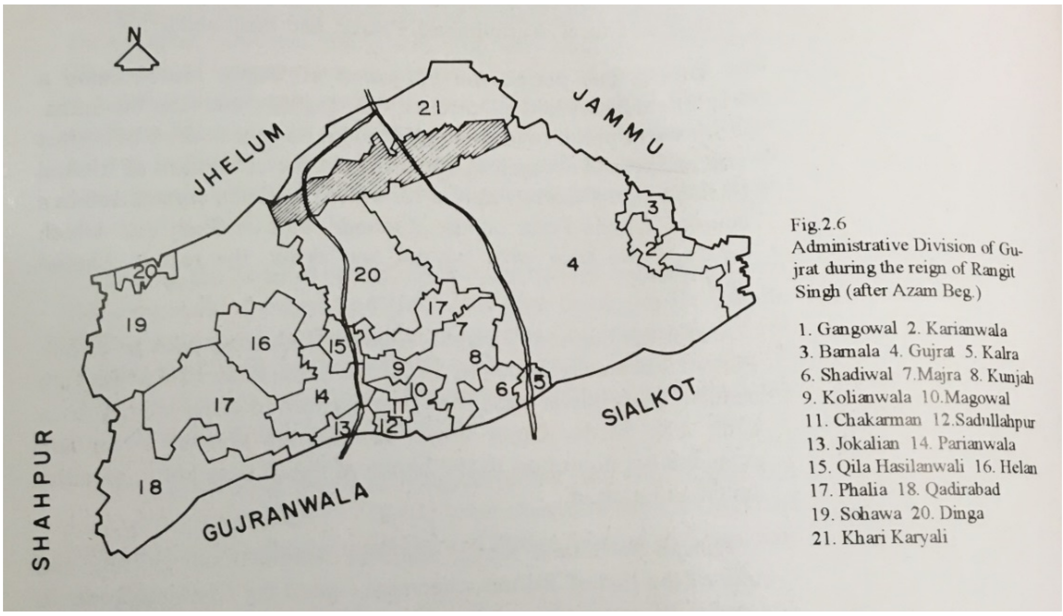

Figure 3.4 Map of administrative divisions of Gujrat during the Ranjit Singh's times into various *paraganahs.*[5]

3.3 Reorganisation of Space at the Regional Scale during Colonial Times: Space at the Discretion of Imperial Rulers

Owing to the long resistance of the Sikhs, the Punjab came under the net of colonial rule much later in the British conquest of Indian Sub-continent. After severe wars with the Sikh Khalsa, the Punjab was formally annexed in March 1849.[6] This was the result of the recognition of the strategic importance of the Punjab as a frontier region between the Russian army in the Central Asia and the British Army in India, coupled with the region's economic potential. Figure 3.5 shows the borders of the British and Russian Empires in the Region. These factors significantly dictated the British policy of maintaining peace and order, increasing the agricultural production and revenue capacity of the Punjab through the development of the region's infrastructure and economy (discussed in Chapter 2).[7] From the annexation in 1849 to the establishment of direct crown rule in 1858, the vast region of the Punjab, spanning from the imperial capital of Delhi in the east to Peshawar in the west, was governed by the Board of Administration from the provincial capital of Lahore, with somewhat personal rule by the isolated colonial officers.

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[5] Rehman, and Wescoat Jr., p. 42.

[6] Lawrence James, *Raj: The Making of British India* (Londres: Abacus, 1997), pp. 106-118.

[7] Ian Talbot, 'The Punjab under Colonialism: Order and Transformation in British Indian', in *Journal of Punjab Studies* 14, Pt. 1 (2011), 3-10 (pp. 3-5).

Figure 3.5 Map of Russian Frontiers in Central Asia, showing the Punjab as a Frontier Region of the British India, and Afghanistan as a Buffer Zone between the Russian and British Empires.[8]

Though, the North Western Frontier Region to the west of River Indus, consisting of Pathan districts, was made a separate province with Peshawar as its capital, in 1901, all the military commissariat requirements of the Western Frontier Region of the British Indian Empire were supplied through the Punjab, leading to the development of the Punjab's transportation and communication networks (discussed in Chapter 2).[9] Figure 3.6 shows the main rail lines and the roads in the map of the Punjab at the time of partition 1947. In addition to increasing the connectivity and communication of the region through the development of railways, roads, post and telegraph systems, the region's administration was improved by breaking the regional space into divisions with five major capitals at Ambala, Jullundur, Lahore, Multan and Rawalpindi, shown in Figure 3.7 and Figure 3.8. To disseminate the imperial authority and control, however, smaller manageable units became a necessity. The divisional units were partitioned into districts with the headquarter towns established in each district (development of

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[8] Frederick Sleigh Roberts, *Forty-one years in India: From Subaltern to Commander-In-Chief,* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1898), e-book release date is August 2005, online <https://www.mirrorservice.org/sites/gutenberg.org/1/6/5/2/16528/16528-h/16528-h.htm> [accessed on 14 June 2016], p. 506.

[9] Rajit K. Mazumder, 'The Making of Punjab: Colonial Power, The Indian Army and Recruited Peasants, 1849-1939' (doctoral thesis, University of London, SOAS, 2011), pp. 13, 55, 59-62.

headquarter towns of canal colony districts is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5). These districts were sub-divided into *tahsils* (sub-divisions) and circles of villages, respectively, shown in Figure 3.9. Princely states of the Punjab were in addition to these districts separately governed through their princes as the allies of the new imperial rulers of the region. A new bureaucratic system was established with the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab under whom the Judicial, Executive and Revenue administrators worked from the provincial to *tahsil* levels. At every administrative level, the imperial authority and control over the Punjab's population and economic production was exerted through an urban centre, a town of relative size and facility. The major towns were connected through the rail lines, roads, post and telegraph systems. These newly developed infrastructural networks, and administrative systems played significant role in influencing the region's economy and governance once the region's western *doabs* were transformed through agricultural colonisation.

A new system of administration and governance was introduced during the British Rule in Indian Sub-continent, through which only a handful of British officials were able to control and govern millions of the natives of this land. A recent news article criticising the exploitation of India by its colonial rulers, state that only about 1,200 British officers were posted here for administering and controlling about 300 to 350 million of population of the British India and for conducting the state affairs.[10] The Punjab had a population of about 34.4 million, according to last census 1941 during the British rule distributed across its various districts, and princely states.[11] The Punjab province also was governed by a rather minuscule number of British officials of the Indian Civil Service background, who were able to exert British authority and control throughout the vast landscape of the Punjab in particular by a sophisticated bureaucratic administration system that was formed of white collar civil servants, serving at the district level, under the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, on various ranks including the commissioner, deputy commissioner, judicial assistant, assistant commissioner, district superintendent police, civil surgeon, and judges, to name just a few. Further, this miniscule number of the serving British officials could not have achieved the control of the area efficiently without the collaboration of indigenous local population. This formal tier of

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[10] Chandrika Kaul, *From Empire to Independence: The British Raj in India 1858-1947*, (BBC History), online <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/modern/independence1947_01.shtml>, [accessed on 10 September 2018].

[11] Gopal Krishan, 'Demography of the Punjab (1849-1947)', in *Journal of Punjab Studies* 11, Pt. 1 (2004), 77-89 (p. 77).

administrative structure was, thus, supported by the informal group of local representatives of the state at every urban level, acting as additional magistrates. The ranks of these additional administrative circle, besides the British officials included a long list of local representatives, like Assistant or Extra-Assistant Commissioner, *Tahsildars*, *Naib-tahsildars*. These ranks were for both the civil and financial administration. For judiciary, these additional administrators were called *Munsifs,* acting as honorary magistrates. In a village, for the judicial and record-keeping, there were ranks of *Zilla Kanongo, Naib Zilla Kanongo, Daftari Kanongo, Field Kanongo, Patwari,* and *Naib Patwari,* while for the revenue and civil administration, there were *Zaildar, Safedposh, Ala Lambardard, Lambardard,* and *Chowkidar*. These informal tier of administration helped to exert the orders and the policies of the British rulers throughout the landscape of the Punjab, in their own jurisdictions. See Plate 3 and Plate 6 of Appendix I, Plate 1, Plate 7 and Plate 12 of Appendix II, and Plates 2 to 7 of Appendix III, for the various administrative and fiscal divisions of assessment circles, *tahsils*, *zails*, *talukas*, villages, principal *jageedars*, and *patwaries*. In addition, they performed the collection of revenue at village level. These local natives were often chosen by the British rulers on the basis of their hereditary high social position, caste, tribe, character, ability, their influence on the native population, or their loyalty and services to the colonial state. These local representatives were paid a percentage of the land revenue of their area and acted as the allies of the state.[12] Moreover, the reputation of the British official, *gora sahib* as he was called in the local language, of doing a fair play and justice, together with his ruthlessness and the gun (only possessed by British official) helped to control the masses and guard against the rebellion. For instance, Bokhari in his book on Lyallpur, tells us about how a single police post covered a huge area, having several villages under its jurisdiction, and yet had managed to considerably reduce the crime rate.[13] See Plate 7 of Appendix I, Plate 9 and Plate 10 of Appendix II, Plate 7 of Appendix IV, for the *thanna* limits and location of police stations in three canal colony districts.

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[12] Mazumder, p. 99.

[13] Ishfaque Bokhari, *Lyallpur Kahani: Chenab Club* (Faisalabad: Sangrila Printers and Publishers, 2003), pp.147-148.

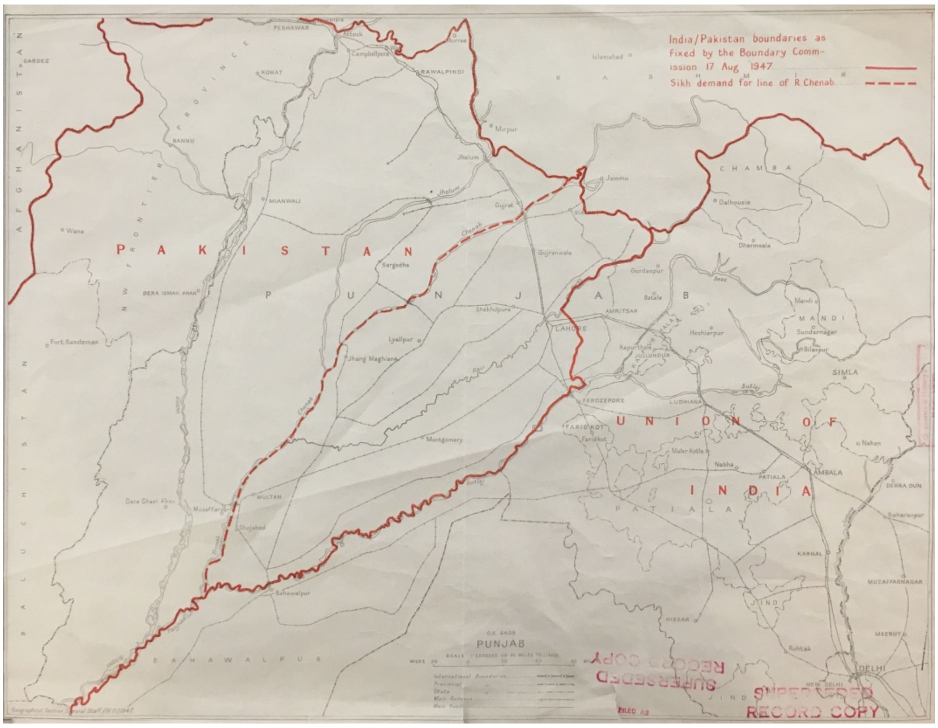

Figure 3.6 Map of Punjab, showing main railway lines connecting major towns from Peshawar to Delhi. The boundary line fixed by Boundary Commission on 17 August 1947, partitioning the Punjab into East Punjab (in India), and West Punjab (in Pakistan) is also shown.[14]

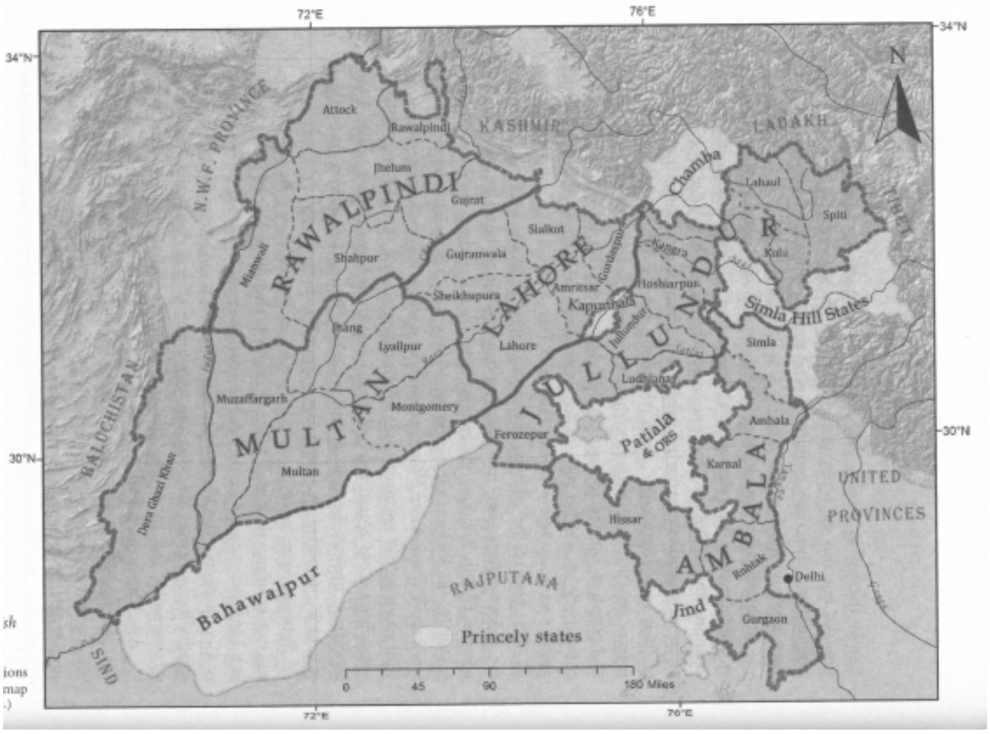

Figure 3.7 Map of British Punjab, 1920s, showing its main divisions and districts, as well as its princely states.[15]

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[14] *Map of the Punjab, 17 August 1947*, accessed at Maps Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. Maps MOD OR 6409. (Photographed by Author).

[15] Gandhi, p. 266.

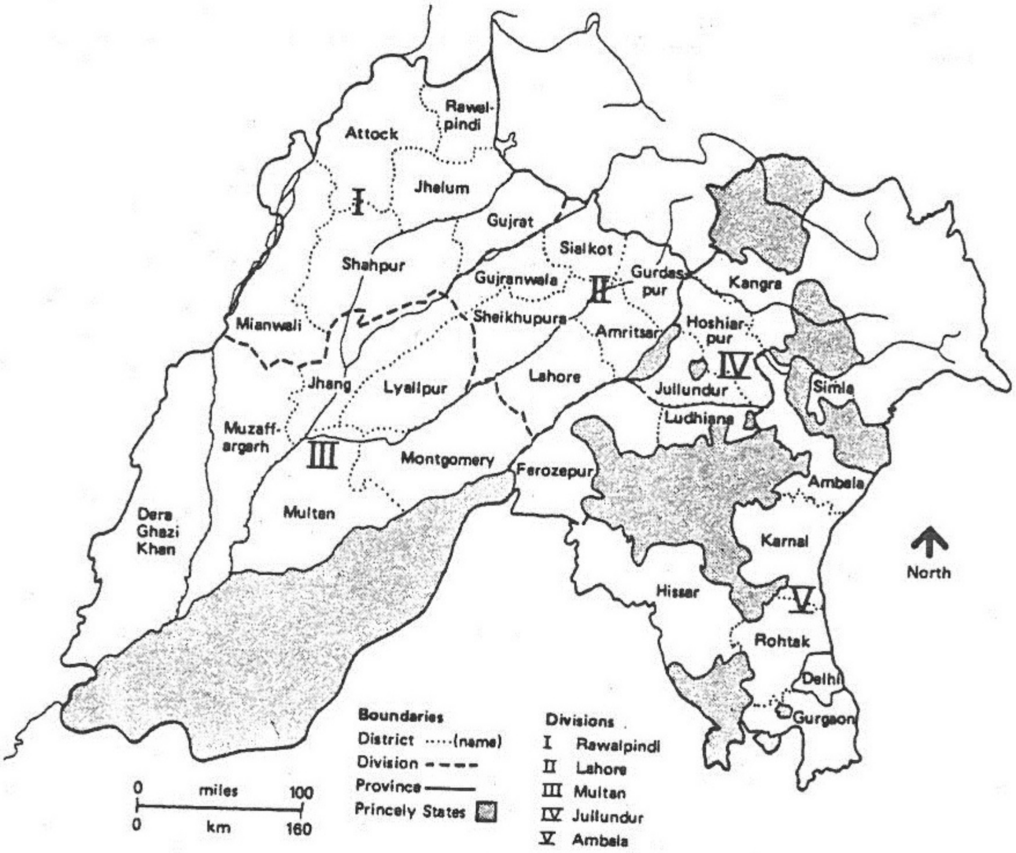

Figure 3.8 Map of Punjab, 1947, showing main divisions and districts of the Punjab.[16]

Figure 3.9 Division of the Punjab Province into Divisions, Districts, Tahsils, and Circles of villages, respectively.[17]

3.3.1 Agricultural Colonisation as a Trigger of Urbanisation and Restructuring of the Landscape of the West Punjab

The western tracts of the Punjab were sub-divided into the south-western river valleys and north-western hilly tracts. During pre-colonial times, major urban settlements of towns, were located in the river valleys (discussed in Chapter 1). The hilly tracts, the *bars* of the western *doabs*, were sparsely populated with semi-nomadic tribes in isolated and

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[16] Imran Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism, 1885-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.1.

[17] Author's own illustration.

small settlements of villages grouped together along water sources.[18] These western tracts of the Punjab, however, underwent through tremendous change in terms of the landscape and patterns of urbanisation during the British rule. The economic potential of the Punjab was recognised from the very beginning of colonial rule in the Punjab, with its western rivers considered appropriate for canal building. However, the agricultural colonisation through canal networks in the western *doabs* of the Bari, Rechna, and Jech, was started in the later decades of the nineteenth century once the financial feasibility of canal building was ensured. With nine canal projects, including colonies of Sidhnai, Sohag Para, Chunian, (Lower) Chenab, (Lower) Jhelum, Lower Bari Doab, Upper Chenab, upper Jhelum, and Nili Bar, the Punjab was developed as a model agricultural province of the British India.[19] Note that British policies in these canal colonies is discussed in detail in Chapter 2. The land was transformed and altered with tremendous increase in its agricultural production and population, triggering the process of urbanisation.[20] The colonies had a separate status in the beginning, and were governed by the colony officer, that held the rank of Deputy Commissioner, directly under the Settlement Commissioner, according to the Act III of 1893. This gave him independent powers to administer all matters of the colony including irrigation, agriculture, police, buildings, and roads. For this reason, the settlement officers or colony officers claimed to possess the special knowledge of the region, once these canal colonies became part of the districts in which they were located and administered by the districts' deputy commissioners.[21]

Taming the Landscape

The agricultural colonisation triggered the widespread process of reordering of the Punjabi landscape in the western *doabs*. The land became a commodity and a symbol of socio-economic and political authority in the process. This was achieved firstly by claiming it Crown Wastelands in 1885, and then by dividing these wastelands into squares that could be lent, sold or gifted to anyone through land grants of canal colonies

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[18] Indu Banga, 'Ecology and Land Rights in the Punjab', in *Journal of Punjab Studies* 11, Pt. 1 (no date), 59-76. Also see, Reeta Grewal, 'Urban Patterns in the Punjab Region since Protohistoric Times', in *Journal of Punjab Studies* 20, Pt. 1&2 (no date), 273-299.

[19] Imran Ali, 'Malign Growth? Agricultural Colonisation and the Roots of Backwardness in the Punjab', in *Past and Present* 114 (February 1987), 110-132, (p.114).

[20] Anjali G. Roy, 'Land of Five Rivers, Canal Colonies and Oceanic Flows to Southeast Asia', in *Third Critical Studies Conference* (Kolkata: Academy of Fine Arts, 2009), 1-9, (p. 1).

[21] B.H. Dobson, *Final Report of the Chenab Colony Settlement* (Lahore: The Superintendent Government Printing, Punjab, 1915), accessed at India Office Record Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. W 1382, p. 1.

at the discretion of the imperial rulers. For managing the increased revenue, agricultural production, and the population, the Punjabi landscape was restructured to achieve the goals of better political control and economic efficiency. Other than its far-reaching socio-economic and political influences (discussed in Chapter 2), the agricultural colonisation played a vital role in taming, restructuring and re-organisation of the landscape of the Punjab.

During the process of settling the new canal colonies, the landscape was surveyed, measured, and divided into measurable units, for the main purpose of extracting the revenue and production of the land. This was done first by the process called the Square System, which followed the canal construction and alignment of watercourses. This earlier system following these water resources, and also the natural contoured plan divided the land into *mauzas* (a colony estate or village), subdivided into squares of each side measuring 1,100 feet with an original limit of allotment amounting to 27.78 acres, theoretically. The Square System, however, proved to be confusing and inaccurate in practice, often leading to the need to re-measure and re-assess the land again. To eliminate these errors, in the new system, named as Killabandi System, land was surveyed and drawn in maps first and then the allotments were laid out in accordance with them, which considerably reduced the error produced by the earlier system. This new and more accurate system replaced the old Square System, and was first employed in 1894 by Captain Popham Young, colonial officer in the District of Jhang and Lyallpur. Each square in the *mauza* was divided into 25 plots of equal sizes, called *killas* (it acquired this name from the peg used to mark the point of intersections). Each *killa* was also a square of an area of 8 kanals 18 marlas, with its each side measuring 220 feet, and are numbered. Killabandi is a permanent survey system that has eased the processes of crop inspection and assessment, and distribution of canal water within the holdings. It has also reduced the boundary disputes, each *zamindar* (land owner) now easily knows and acclaims the number of *killas* he owns.[22] See Figure 3.10, Figure 3.11, Figure 3.12, and Figure 3.13.

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[22] Dobson, ibid., pp. 105-106.

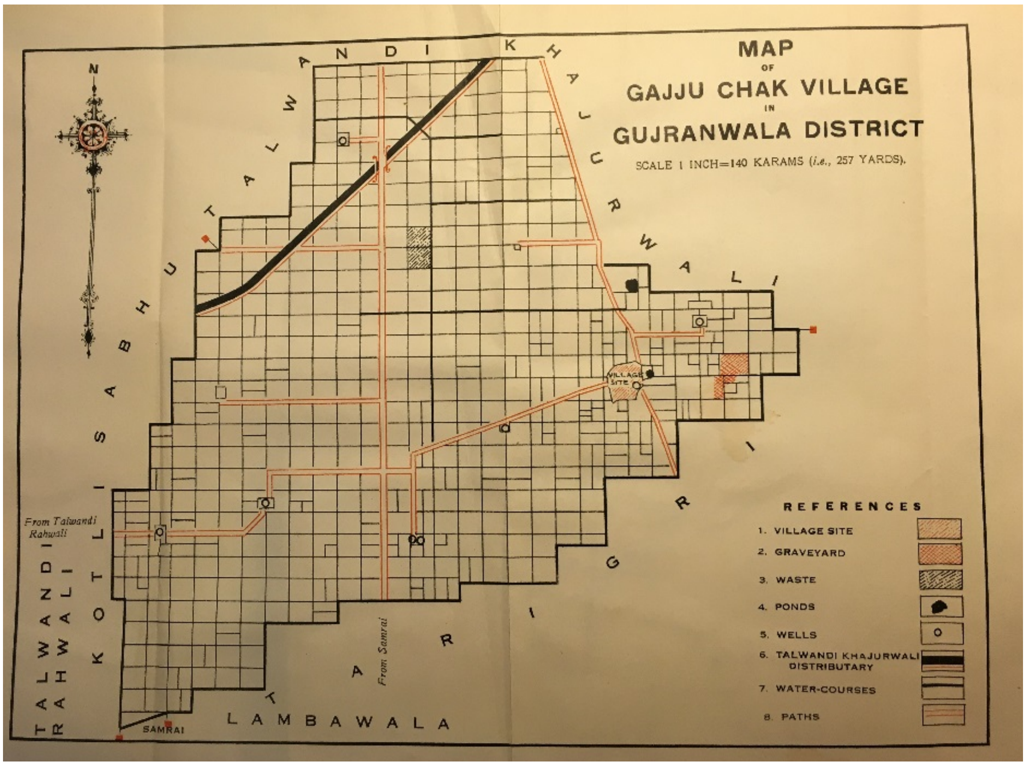

Figure 3.10 Map of Gajju Chak Village in Gujranwala District.[23]

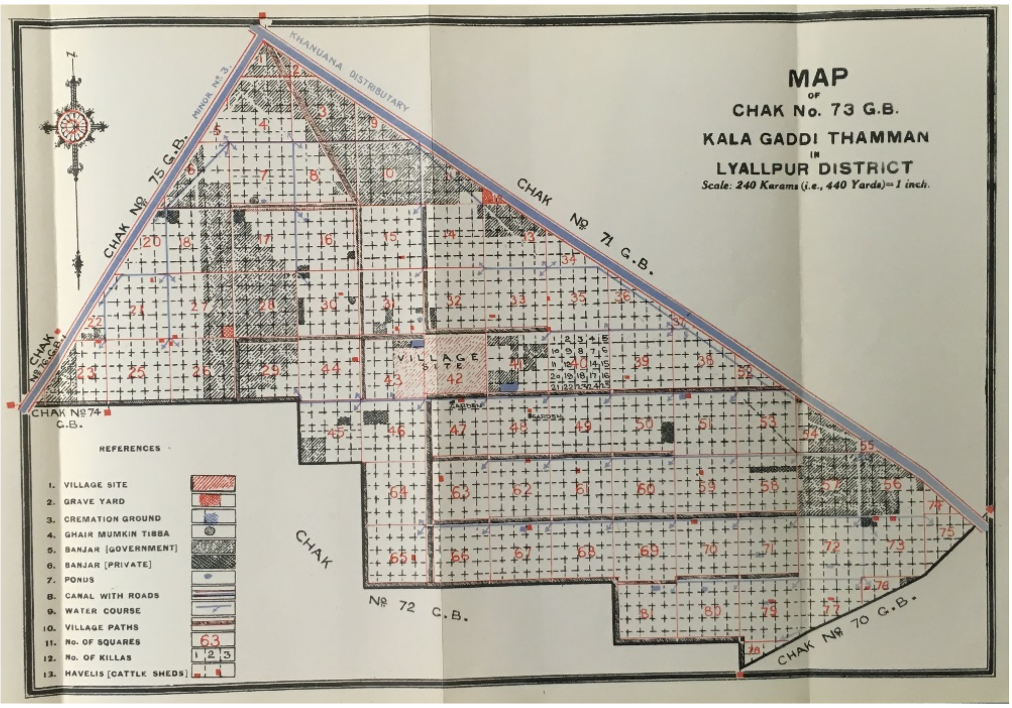

Figure 3.11 Map of Chak No. 73 G.B., in Lyallpur District.[24]

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[23] W. H. Myles, ed., *An Economic Survey of Gajju Chak, A Village in the Gujranwala District of the Punjab* (Punjab: Board of Economic Inquiry conducted by Anchal Dass under the supervision of C.F. Strickland, 1934), accessed at Indian Office Record Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. V 6239. (Photographed by Author)

[24] J. W. Thomas, ed., *An Economic Survey of Kala Gaddi Thamman (Chak 73 GB), A Village in the Lyallpur District of the Punjab* (Punjab: Board of Economic Inquiry conducted by Randhir Singh under

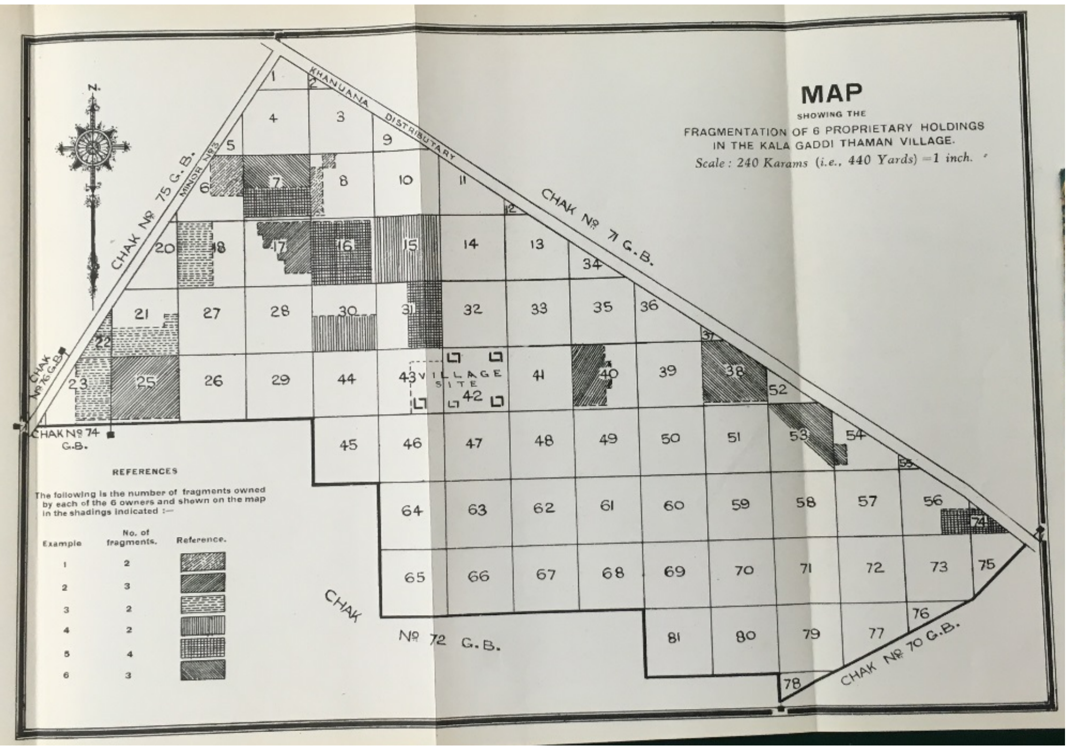

Figure 3.12 Map of Chak No. 73 G.B., in Lyallpur District.[25]

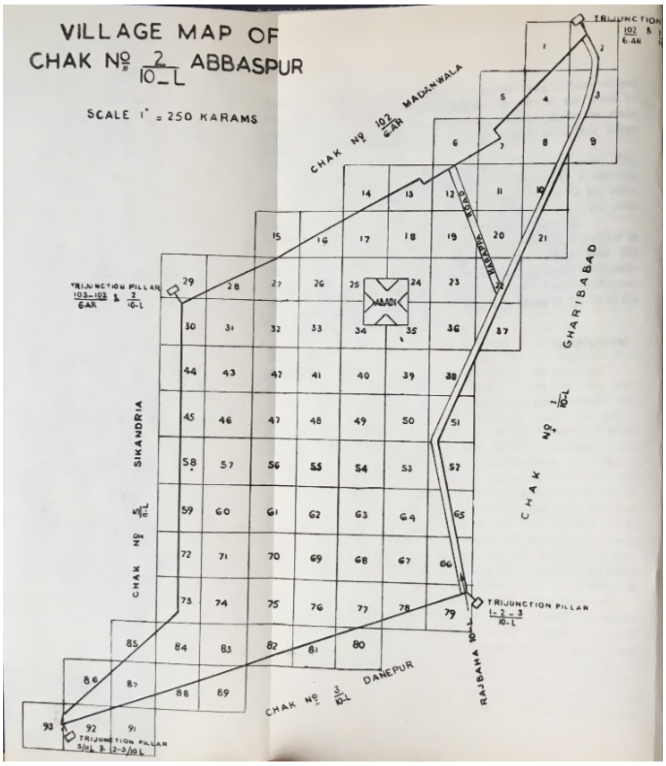

Figure 3.13 Map of Abbasspur, in Montgomery District.[26]

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the Supervision of W. Roberts, 1932), accessed at Indian Office Record Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. V 6237. (Photographed by Author)

[25] Thomas, ibid., (Photographed by Author)

[26] Niaz Mohammad Khan, *An Economic Survey of Abbaspur (Chak No. 2/10-L), A Village in the Montgomery District of the Punjab* (Punjab: Board of Economic Inquiry, 1963), accessed at Indian Office Record Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. V 19017. (Photographed by Author)

A Chak in the Punjab

New villages were developed in the new canal colonies, alongside the urban centres in the region, to accommodate the new migrants for the settlement of canal colonies who came here from the crowded and overpopulated districts of the Punjab. This village site is usually located on a high ground and occupies one-half to two squares in every colony *mauza* space. Each *mauza* usually has a single village site, in some cases, there are, however, two village sites separated by a considerable distance (see Figure 3.10, Figure 3.11, Figure 3.12, and Figure 3.13).[27]

These new rural settlements share with the colonial urban centres, the new vision of colonial rulers in their design, and differ from the existing traditional villages in the area. These new planned villages were called *chaks* and were named and numbered according to the canal responsible to irrigate its lands. For instance, the *chaks* on the Rakh Branch of the Chenab Colony, were named as "RB", with the number of the *chak* on that *patti* (line or row). Each *chak* was inhabited with immigrants of the particular cast, tribe and background. Every *chak* was similar in design, with its grid iron planning. There is usually an open area in the middle, called *chowk*, which has a water pond for the use of both the people and animals. This central *chowk* also had shops and bazar.[28] The earlier villages were simplest in design, having a four residential blocks around the central *chowk* in their square plans, each of the four blocks was further divided into nine smaller blocks. The main cross roads usually measure 40 feet, while the intersecting roads between the smaller residential blocks were half in width, measuring 20 feet. In the villages developed later, there were additional water ponds on the north and south sides, and the menials were often housed on the sides with smaller residences.[29] See Figure 3.14, Figure 3.15, Figure 3.16, Figure 3.17, and Figure 3.18 for the plans of various *chaks* in the West Punjab.

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[27] Dobson, ibid., p.10.

[28] Muhammad Abrar Ahmad, and Muhammad Iqbal Chawla, 'History and Development of Lyallpur, 1890-1947', in in *Journal of Research Society of Pakistan* 54, Pt. 1, (Jan-Jun 2017), 98-115 (pp.102-103).

[29] Dobson, ibid., p.10.

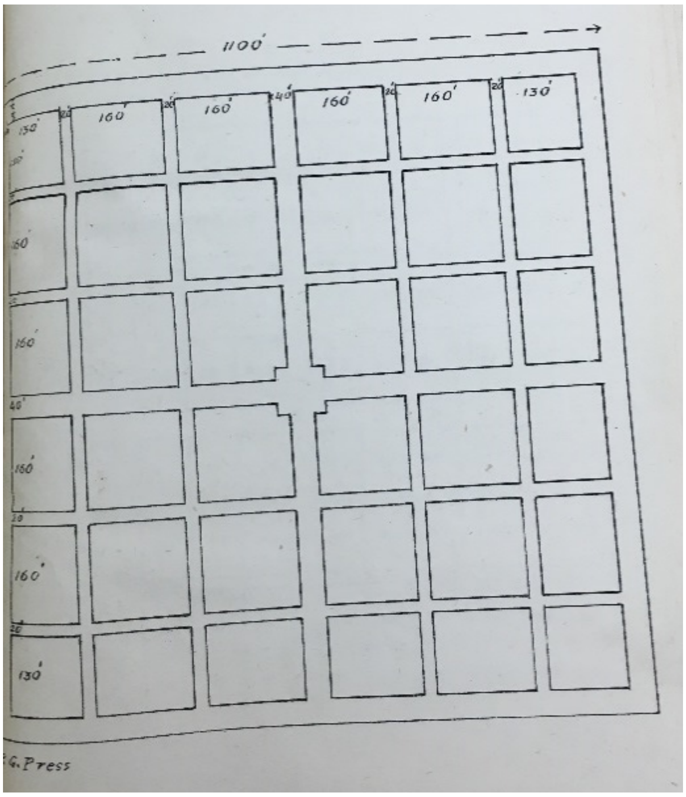

Figure 3.14 Plan of Peasant Village sites, on Rakh and Mian Ali Branches.[30]

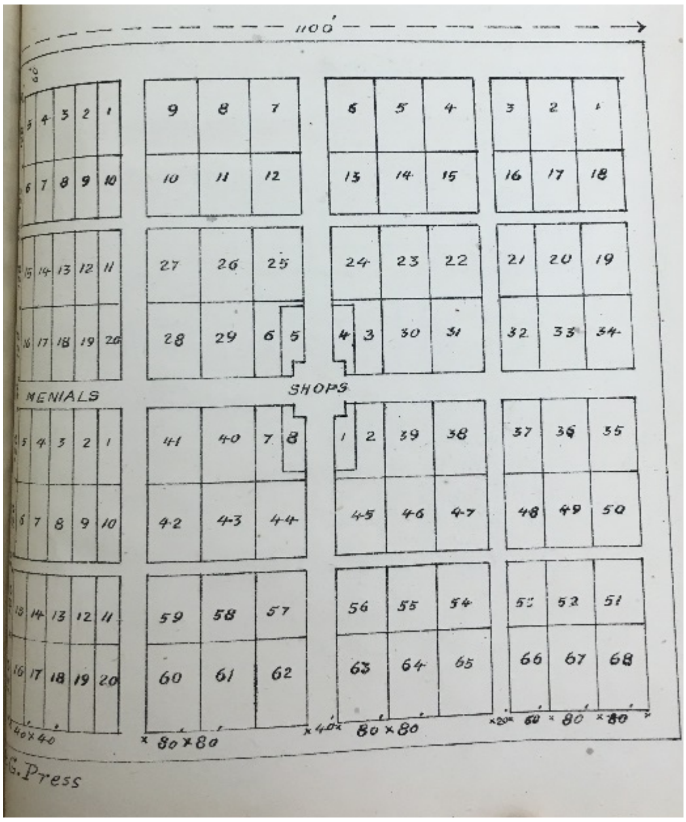

Figure 3.15 Plan of Peasant Village sites, on Jhang and Bhowana Branches.[31]

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[30] Gazetteer of the Chenab Colony, 1904 (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1905), accessed at India Office Record Collection, British Library London (Photographed by Author).

[31] Gazetteer of the Chenab Colony, 1905, ibid, (Photographed by Author).

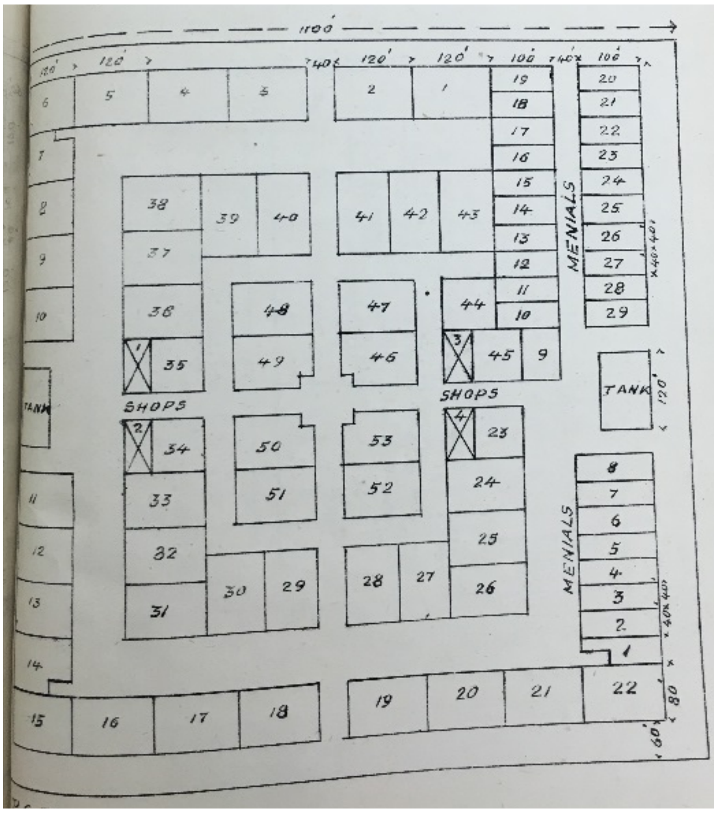

Figure 3.16 Plan of Peasant Village sites, on Gugera and Burala Branches.[32]

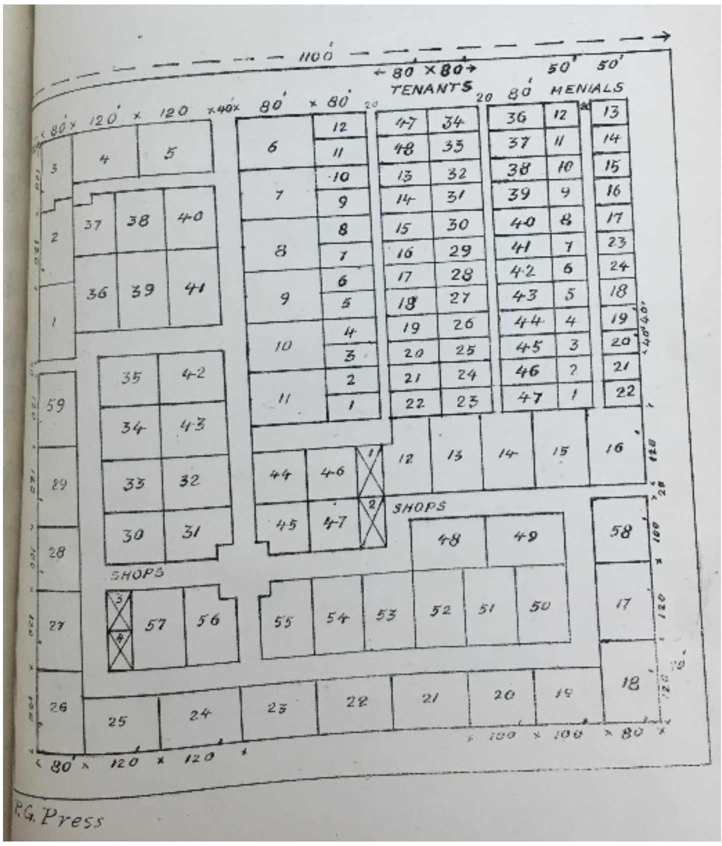

Figure 3.17 Plan of Village sites, on extensions of canal.[33]

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[32] Gazetteer of the Chenab Colony, 1905, ibid, (Photographed by Author).

[33] Gazetteer of the Chenab Colony, 1905, ibid., (Photographed by Author).

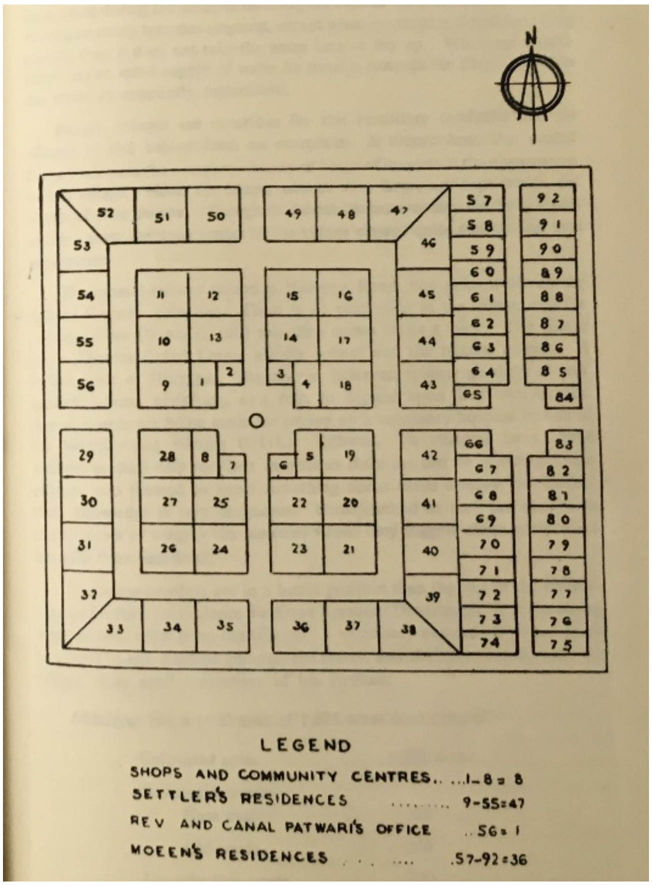

Figure 3.18 Plan of village, Abbaspur, Chak No.2/10-L.[34]

Art of Cartography

Starting with the revenue assessment through surveys, the land settlements (regular and revised), the changes brought through canal irrigation were officially documented in the canal colony and settlement reports, in district gazetteers, and also in the maps that mostly accompany these written documents. The new system of Killabandi also led to re-measurement of the land, generating field maps, district maps, and *chak* maps. These maps were mainly produced for military, administrative and revenue purposes, by the officials of the military, irrigation and public works department.

There are several regional maps of the western *doabs* of the Punjab produced by the canal irrigation department that show in detail the new canal networks developed in the region. For instance, Figure 3.19 shows the Map of Baree Doab and Upper Sutlej Inundation Canals. Other maps of canal colonies are also included in Chapter 2. Other regional maps, for instance, map of Punjab shown in Figure 3.6, were produced for purely political purposes, marking the new border lines for the partition of the Punjab

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[34] Khan, 1963 (Photographed by Author).

upon independence 1947. The district maps, more readily available in the archives today, are also now digitally available online[35], one such map of Montgomery District is shown in Figure 3.20. District maps from British times were mainly hand-drawn by the colonial officials, and have recorded specific information in varying details according to the purpose for which they were produced. Some of the district maps show the divisions of the *tahsils* and circles, with the major towns and transportation networks in the district (see Figure 3.21, Figure 3.22, Figure 3.23, Figure 3.24, Figure 3.25, Figure 3.26, and Figure 3.27). One also finds other types of district maps in the archives, such as ones showing the settlement and revenue circles in the district, or the topography of the districts. There are also district maps that show and mark out the institutional buildings or the police stations in the district, shown in the various district maps of four districts of Gujranwala, Gujrat, Jhang, and Montgomery (see the district maps in Appendices I, II, III, and IV).

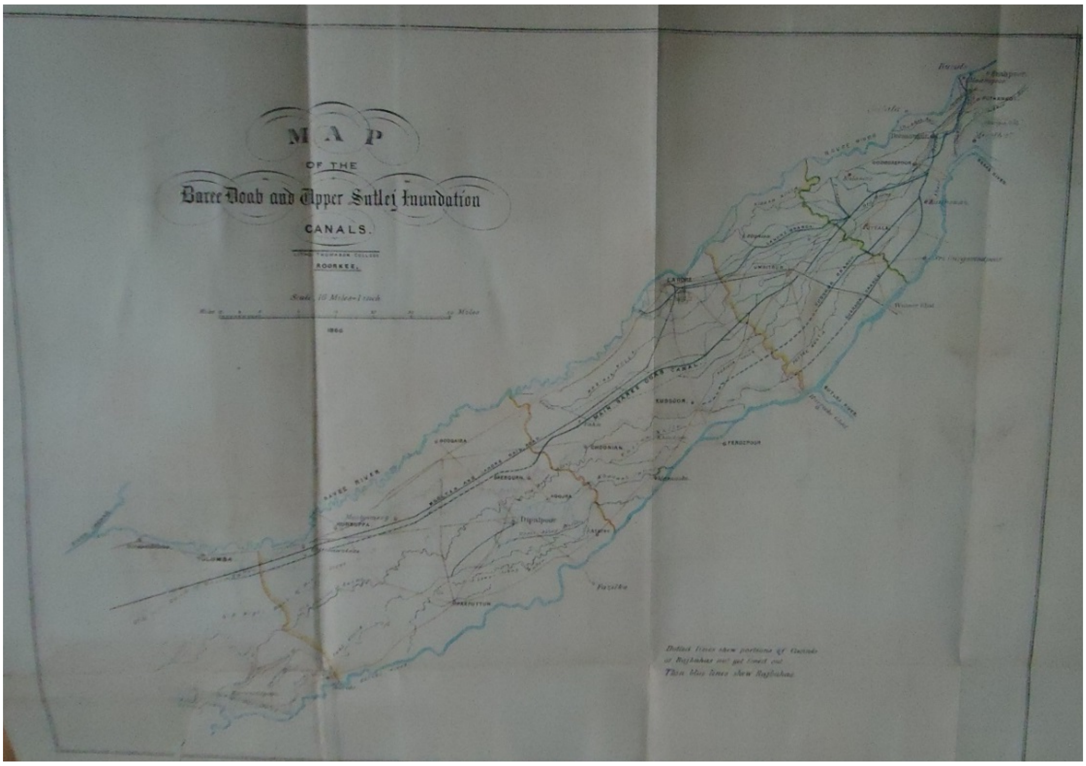

Figure 3.19 Map of the Baree Doab and Upper Sutlej Inundation Canals.[36]

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[35] *India and Pakistan, U.S. Army Map Service 1955*, (University of Texas Libraries), online <https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/ams/india/>, [accessed on 10 September 2018].

[36] *Administrative Report, 1865-66*, accessed at Secretariat Library, Punjab Archives, Lahore, bookshelf no. 11077 (Photographed by Author).

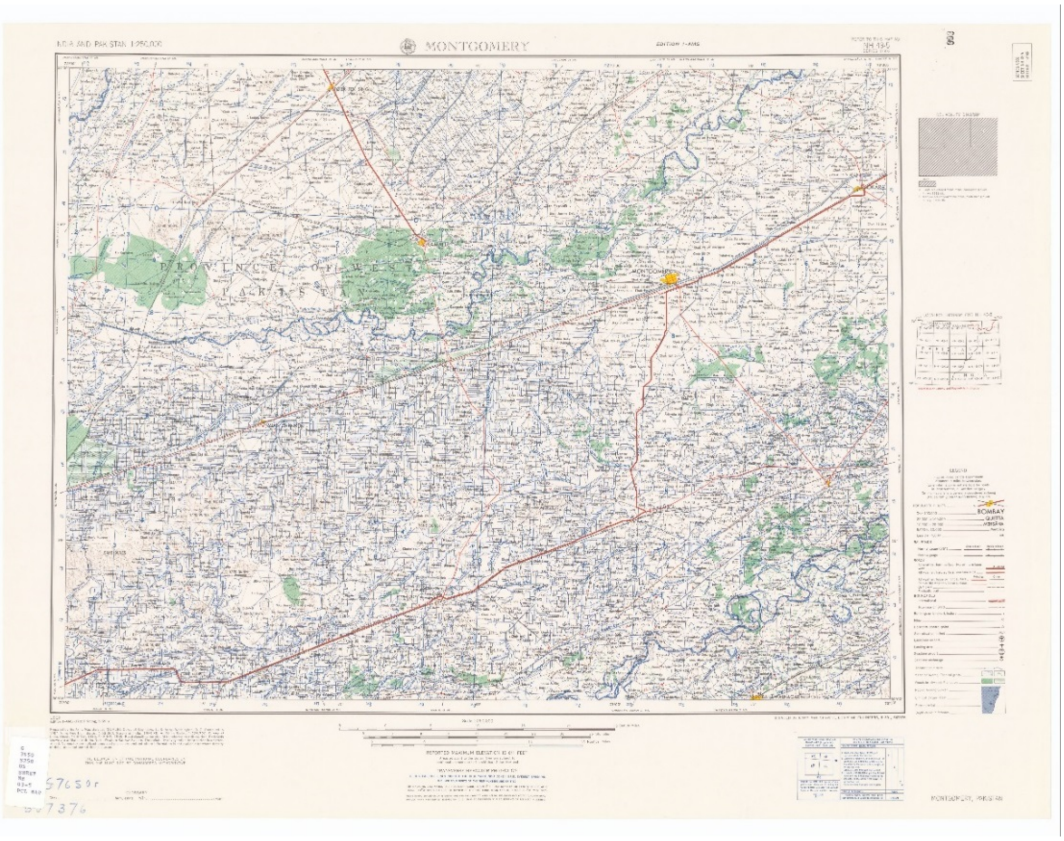

Figure 3.20 Map of Montgomery District, 1955.[37]

3.3.2 Making of New Districts in West Punjab

During the colonial rule in the Punjab, the space at district level was continually reorganised for creating more manageable administrative units, for better political and economic control in the region. With more and more of the land of the western *doabs* tamed and made suitable to the perennial canal system during the construction of the canal network, and more land was settled with the grants of the canal colonies, the assessment circles of the districts were continually adjusted accordingly to extract revenue and production more efficiently. This was achieved by re-appropriation of the Punjabi landscape on a widespread scale at the discretion of the colonial rulers through various means including the shifting and re-shifting of the district boundaries, transference of *tahsils* and estates within and between districts, and making of new administrative units of *tahsils* and districts. Each district usually had a district

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[37] *Montgomery District,* from India and Pakistan, U.S. Army Map Service 1955, (University of Texas Libraries), online <https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/ams/india/>, [accessed on 10 September 2018].

headquarter, with three to five sub-divisions, *tahsils*. Each *tahsil* then have a *tahsil* headquarter, with several other market and small towns, and circles of villages.

At the time of annexation in 1849, the upper portion of the Rechna Doab was governed as one district and had its headquarters at Wazirabad. Within a couple of years, however, two districts of Gujranwala and Sialkot were carved out of this one big district after the revenue survey. Wazirabad became one of the three *tahsils* of the Gujranwala District. The districts of Gujranwala and Sialkot went through further changes during the next couple of decades. The District Map of Gujranwala from a report published in 1914, shows the district with three *tahsils* of Gujranwala, Wazirabad, and Sharaqpur (see Figure 3.21).[38] Whereas the District Map of the Gujranwala from the report, published in 1927, shows three *tahsils* of Gujranwala, Wazirabad, and Hafizabad (see Figure 3.22).[39] Sialkot District witnessed the transfer and re-transfer of its various *tahsils*, and by 1881 the district was reorganised with five *tahsils* of Sialkot, Daska, Pasrur, Raya, and Zafarwal (see Figure 3.23). However, upon the construction of Upper Chenab Canal in 1912, a new district of Sheikhupura was created to reduce the district sizes, leaving the District of Sialkot with its four *tahsils* of Sialkot, Daska, Pasrur and Zafarwal.[40] Prior to the making of this district, Sheikhupura was a headquarter of a Police *thana* in the Hafizabad *tahsil* of Gujranwala. See Plate 7 in Appendix I for the location of Sheikhupura Police *thana* headquarter. This village settlement back then has a population of less than 5,000 people recorded in the census 1881.[41] Further, headquarter of Zafarwal *tahsil* was shifted to Narowal, leaving the District with its four *tahsils* of Sialkot, Daska, Pasrur, and Narowal (see Figure 3.24). In 1919, Sheikhupura District was constituted for better revenue management, and later enlarged by the land additions from four districts of Sialkot, Gujranwala, Lahore, and Lyallpur (see Figure 3.25).[42]

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[38] I.C. Lall, *Final Report on the settlement of Wazirabad, Gujranwala and Sharaqpur tahsils in the Gujranwala District, 1909-1913* (Lahore: The Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1914), accessed at India Office Record Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. W 1387.

[39] Khan Sahib Sheikh Khurshaid Muhammad, *Final Report of the Foruth Revised Settlement, 1923-27*, *of the Gujranwala District* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab, 1927), accessed at India Office Record Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. P/W 230.

[40] *Punjab District Gazetteer, Sialkot District, 1920* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab, 1921;Reprinted by Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 2005)

[41] *Gazetteer of the Gujranwala District, 1883-1884* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazetteer Press, 1884; Reprinted by Sang-e-Meel publications, Lahore, 2004), p. 92.

[42] Sheikh Nur Muhammad, *Final Settlement Report of the Shiekhupura District, 1923-27* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab, 1927), accessed at India Office Record Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. P/W 238.

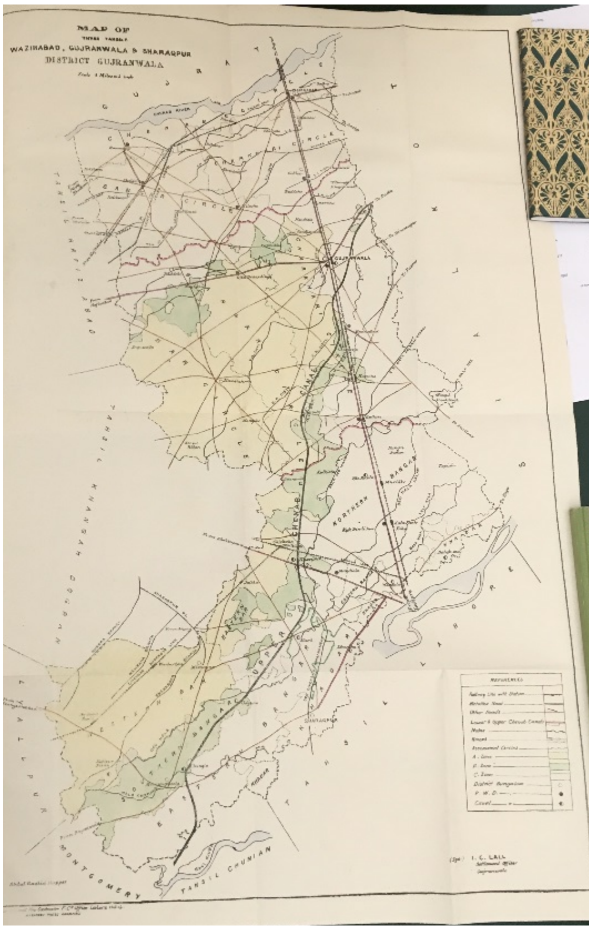

Figure 3.21 Map of Gujranwala District with three *tahsils* of Wazirabad, Gujranwala, and Sharaqpur.[43]

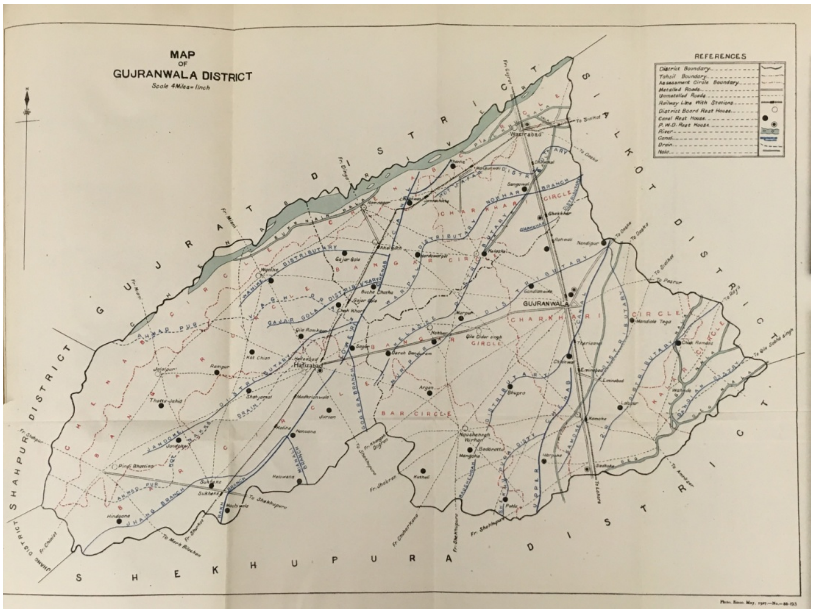

Figure 3.22 Map of Gujranwala District, showing main *tahsils* of Gujranwala, Hafizabad, and Wazirabad.[44]

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[43] Lall, 1914, (Photographed by Author)

[44] Muhammad, 1927, (Photographed by Author)

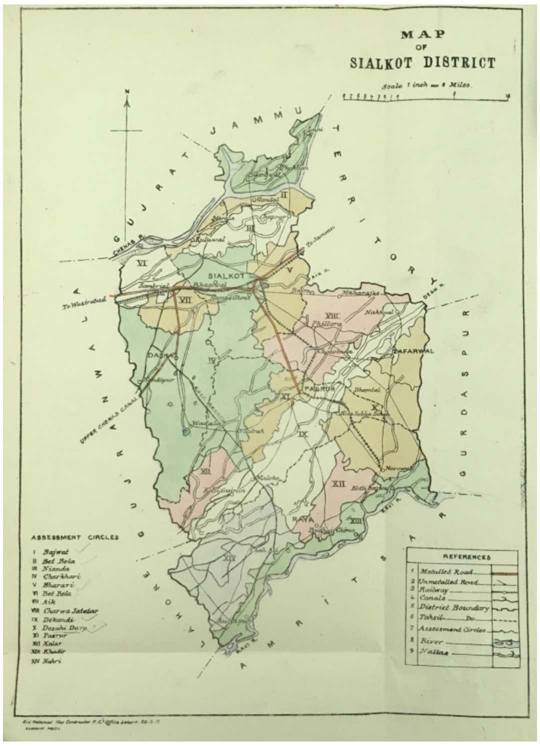

Figure 3.23 Sialkot District, showing five *tahsils* of Sialkot, Daska, Pasrur, Zafarwal, and Raya.[45]

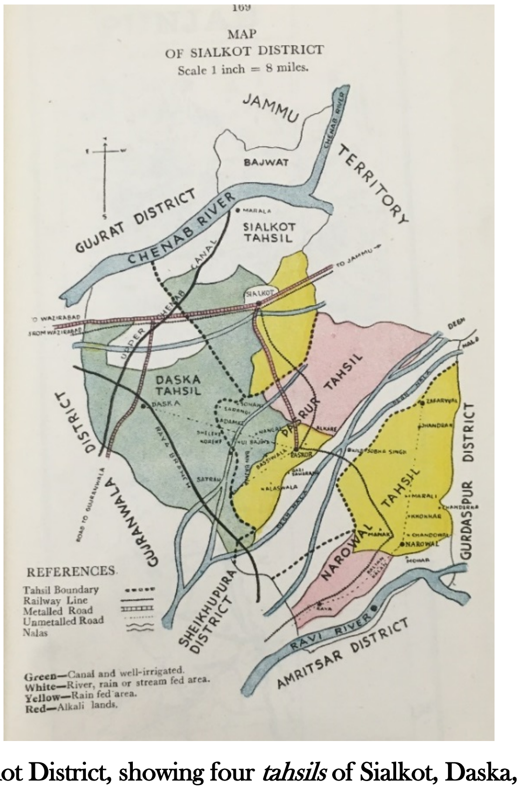

Figure 3.24 Map of Sialkot District, showing four *tahsils* of Sialkot, Daska, Pasrur, and Narowal.[46]

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[45] D.J. Boyd, *Final Report of the Fourth Regular Settlement of the Sialkot District* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab, 1918), accessed at India Office Record Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. W 1407, (Photographed by Author)

[46] E.D. Lucas, and F. Thakura Dasa, *The Rural Church in the Punjab. A Study of Social, Economic, Educational and Religious Conditions prevailing amongst Certain Village Christian Communities in the*

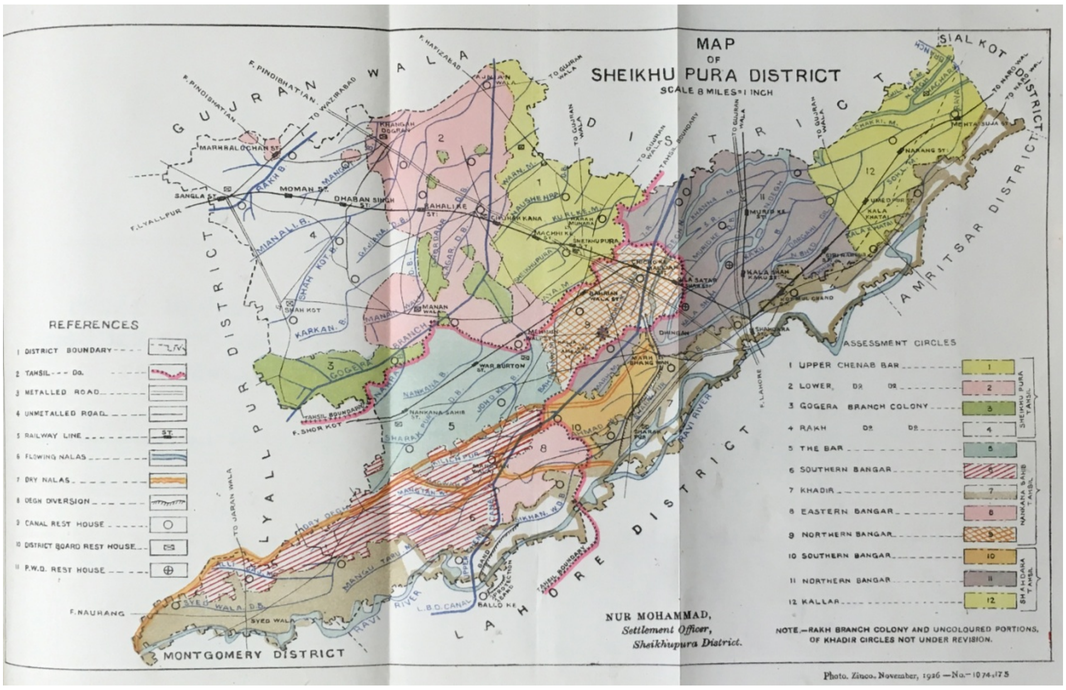

Figure 3.25 Map of Sheikhupura District, showing main *tahsils* of Sheikhupura, Nankana Sahib, and Muridke.[47]

In the Rawalpindi Division, earlier at annexation on March 1849, the Districts of Shahpur and Gujrat were one big district. However, by June 1849, two separate districts were constituted, experiencing the continual transference of several estates and villages between them. Shahpur District was first constituted with the *tahsils* of Miana, Bhera, Sahiwal, and Kadirpur. With the development of familiarity with the administrative circles of the area, the whole of *tahsil* of Kadirpur was, however, transformed to Jhang District, in 1851, for it was realised to be more conveniently governed from the later district since its inhabitants were also of Sial tribes. Similarly, the estate of Khushab was transferred to this district of Shahpur, and by 1853-54, the district had three *tahsils* of Bhera, Sahiwal, and Kalowal. The district experienced further changes and transference of estates for the similar reasons of more effective fiscal division, and administrative controls, and by 1877-1878 was reorganised with three *tahsils* of Shahpur, Bhera and Khushab (see Figure 3.26). In the Shahpur District of Rawalpindi Division, with the laying out of new town of Sargodha, and with the extension of canal irrigation in its southern part in 1904, however, the fourth *tahsil* of Sargodha was added to existing

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Sialkot District (Lahore; North India Printing & Publishing Co., 1938), accessed at India Office Record Collection, British Library London, bookshelf no. V 1143. (Photographed by Author)

[47] Muhammad, 1927, (Photographed by Author)

tahsils of Shahpur, Bhera, and Khushab (see Figure 3.27).[48] Similarly, the Gujrat District was first constituted with three *tahsils* of Gujrat, Kunjah, and Kadirabad. By June 1849, however, the later two *tahsil* headquarters were shifted to Kharian and Phalia.[49] The boundaries within the *tahsils* of the district were, however, reorganised between 1911 and 1914 with the transference of estates from Shahpur District upon the establishment of canal colony of Upper Jhelum. These *tahsils* are shown in the district map in the report, dated 1918, this report also has the separate *tahsil* maps showing the assessment circles in these *tahsils* (see Figure 3.28, Figure 3.29, Figure 3.30, and Figure 3.31). Also see, maps of Gujrat District in Appendix II.

Figure 3.26 Map of Shahpur District, showing three *tahsils* of Shahpur, Bhera, and Khusab.[50]

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[48] J. Wilson, *Gazetteer of the Shahpur District, 1897* (Lahore: Civil and Military Press, 1897; Reprinted by Sang-e-Meel publications, Lahore, 2012), pp. 41-44.

[49] *Punjab District Gazetteer, Gujrat District, 1921* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab, 1921; Reprinted by Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 2007), pp.24-25.

[50] J. Wilson, *Gazetteer of the Shahpur District, Revised Edition, 1897* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazettee Press, 1897), accessed at Punjab Secretariat Library, Punjab Archives, Lahore, bookshelf no. K-21(a) XXII. (Photographed by Author)

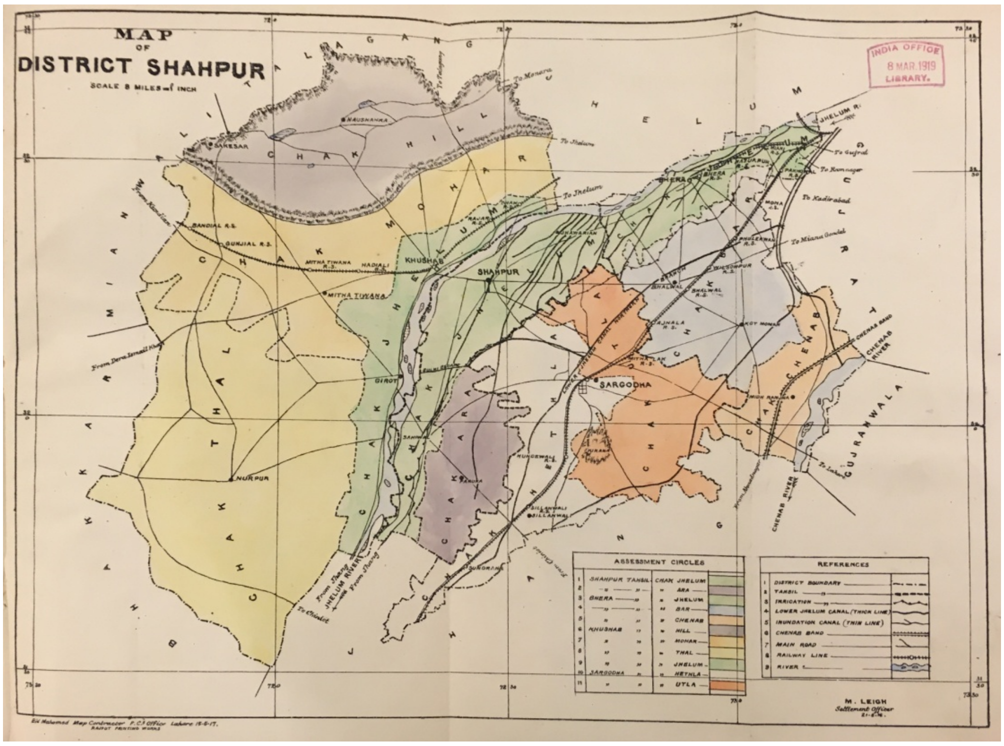

Figure 3.27 Shahpur District, showing four *tahsils* of Sargodha, Shahpur, Bhera, and Khushab.[51]

Figure 3.28 Map of Gujrat District, showing three *tahsils* of Gujrat, Kharian, and Phalia.[52]

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[51] M.S. Leigh, *Final Report of the Third Regular Settlement of the Portion of Shahpur District, 1911-16* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab, 1918), accessed at India Office Record Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. W 1406, (Photographed by Author)

[52] H.S. Williamson, *Final Report of the Fourth Regular Settlement of the Gujrat District, 1912-1916* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab, 1918), accessed at India Office Record Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. W 1388, (Photographed by Author)

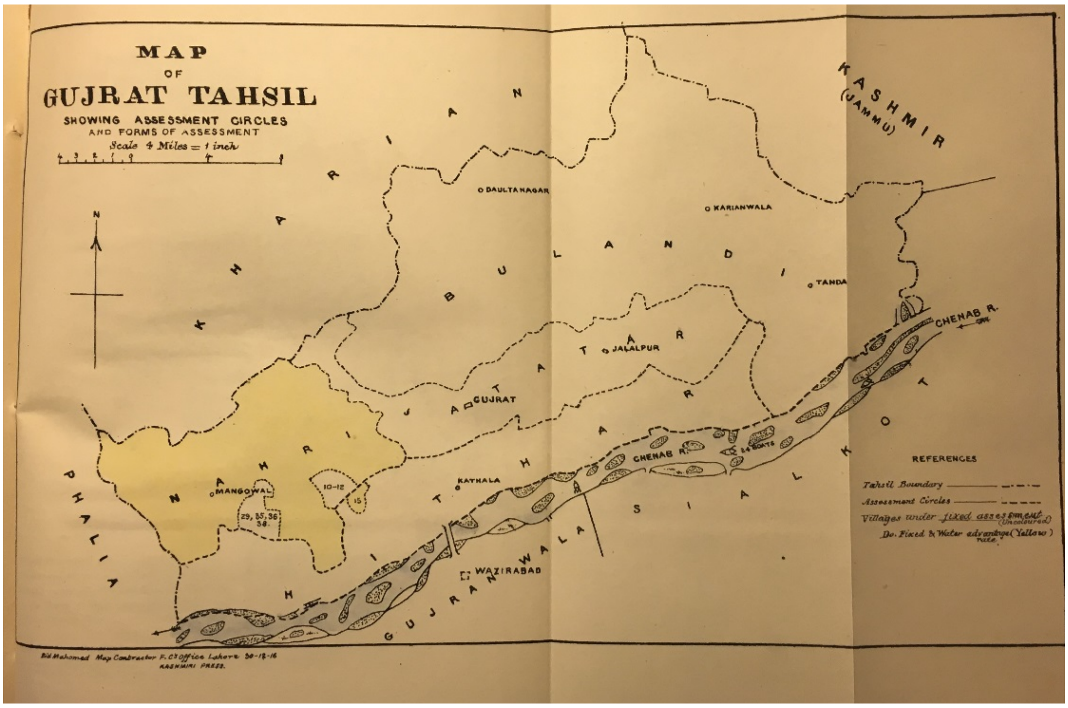

Figure 3.29 Map of Tahsil of Gujrat.[53]

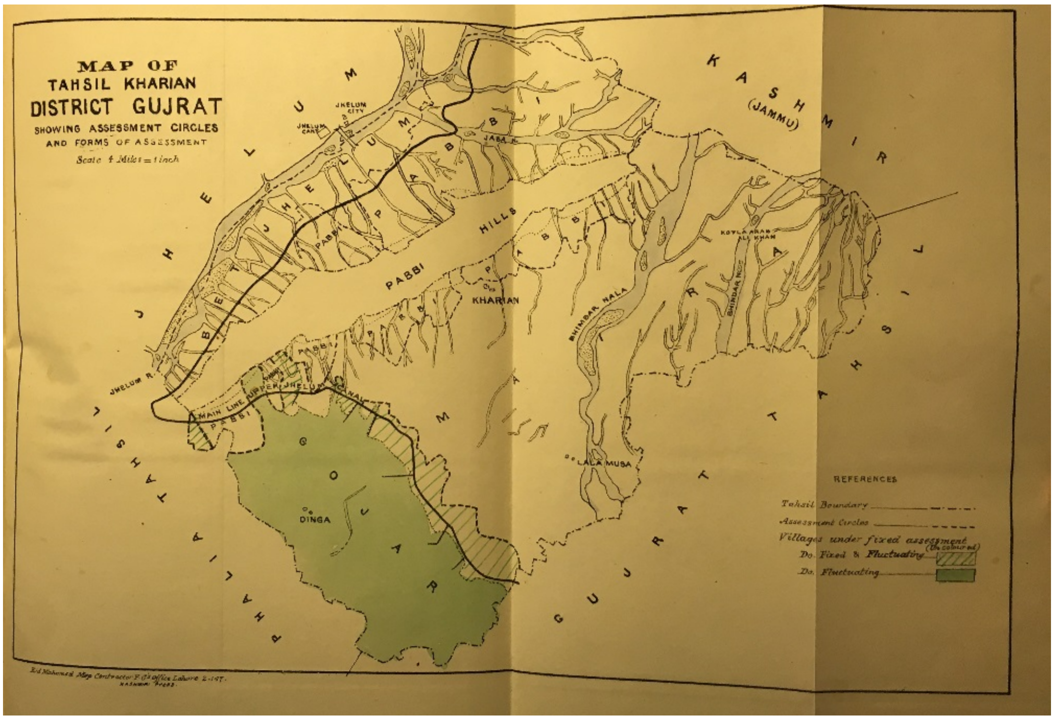

Figure 3.30 Map of Tahsil of Kharian.[54]

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[53] Williamson, ibid., (Photographed by Author)

[54] Williamson, ibid.. (Photographed by Author)

Figure 3.31 Map of Tahsil of Phalia.[55]

During the early phase, Multan Division had four districts of Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Montgomery, and Multan. Montgomery District, upon the annexation in 1849, was constituted with the headquarter at Pak Pattan. In 1852, however, the district headquarter was shifted to town of Gugera, located on old road from Lahore to Multan, and named as Gugera District prior to laying out of the new town of Montgomery. The district headquarter was then shifted to Montgomery, in 1864, about 30 miles from Gugera at the village of Sahiwal, located mid-way on new railway line between Lahore and Multan, and within a year in 1865 it was renamed after Punjab's Lieutenant Governor, Sir Robert Montgomery. The district was previously divided into five *tahsils* of Gugera, Saiyadwala, Hujra, Pak Pattan and Harappa. Upon laying out of new district headquarter, the district was re-organised. The Harappa *tahsil* was replaced with new tahsil of Montgomery, while the Saiyadwala *tahsil* was made the part of Gugera *tahsil*. By 1871, the *tahsil* headquarter from Hujra was shifted to Dipalpur. This resulted into the district with four *tahsils* of Montgomery, Gugera, Dipalpur, and Pak Pattan (see Figure 3.32, also see the maps of Montgomery District in Appendix IV).[56] Similarly, Jhang District of Multan Division was earlier divided into four *tahsils* of Chiniot, Jhang, Kadirpur, and Uch. The transfer of several estates between this and surrounding districts

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[55] Williamson, ibid. (Photographed by Author)

[56] *Gazetteer of the Montgomery District, 1884*, pp. 37-38.

of Muzaffargarh, Shahpur, and Multan, resulted in the re-organisation of this district into three *tahsils* of Jhang, Chiniot, and Shorkot (see Figure 3.33, and Figure 3.34).[57] Also see the maps of Jhang District in Appendix III.

With the advent of agricultural colonisation, another district was created out of Chenab Colony, with a new headquarter town, Lyallpur. This colony was established during 1892-1906, with its main branches of Jhang, Rakh and Gugera, in the former Sandal Bar, lower part of the Rechna Doab, inhibited mainly by the semi-nomadic tribes of camel and cattle owners, referred to *janglis* by the British (discussed in Chapter 2).[58] During this process of settling the Chenab Colony, the space, in the former two districts of Jhang and Montgomery in Multan Division, and in two former districts of Lahore and Gujranwala in Lahore Division, underwent through tremendous reorganisation with continual transfer and retransfer of estates within the *tahsils* of these districts.[59] Initially, a new *tahsil* of Lyallpur was formed as a part of Jhang District in 1896. Other new *tahsils* of Samundari and Toba Tek Singh were formulated in this district in 1900. Finally, this however, resulted in a new district of Lyallpur, constituted on 1 December 1904, named after Sir James Lyall, a former Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.[60] At first, the new district had three *tahsils* of Lyallpur, Toba Tek Singh, and Samundri, however, the fourth *tahsil* of Jaranwala was created later (see Figure 3.35, Figure 3.36, and Figure 3.37).[61]

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[57] *Gazetteer of the Jhang District, 1883-1884* (Lahore: Arya Press, 1884; Reprinted by Sang-e-Meel Publication, Lahore, 2012), pp. 37-38.

[58] Dobson, 1915, p. 1-2.

[59] *Gazetteer of the Chenab Colony*, 1905, pp.1-2.

[60] J.D. Penny, *Final Settlement Report of the Jhang and Gugera Branch circles of the Lyallpur District* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab, 1925), General Reference Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. I.S.PU.20/49.(1.), p. 1-3.

[61] Dobson, 1915, p. 12.

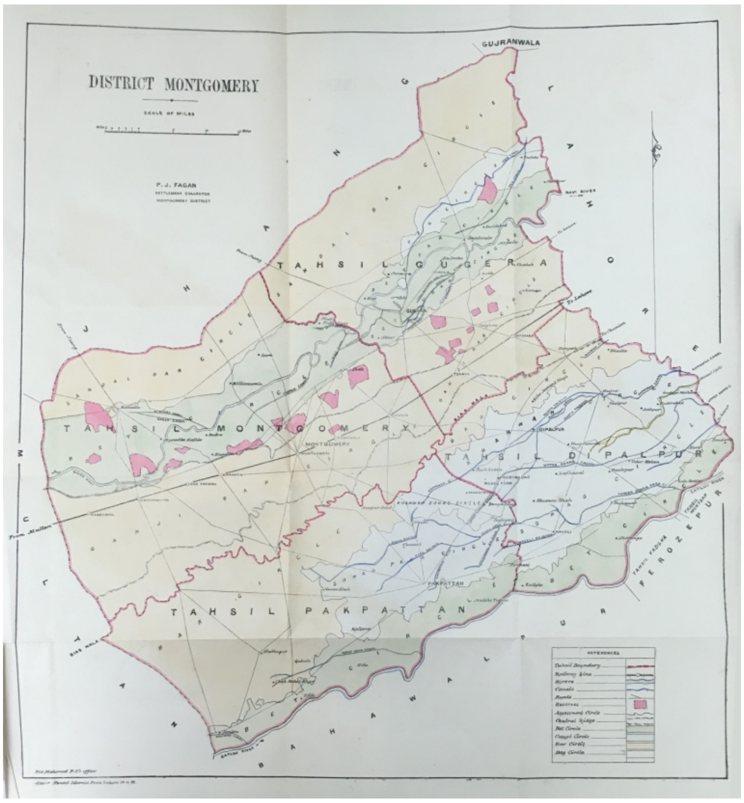

Figure 3.32 Map of Montgomery District, showing four *tahsils* of Montgomery, Gugera, Dipalpur, and Pak Pattan.[62]

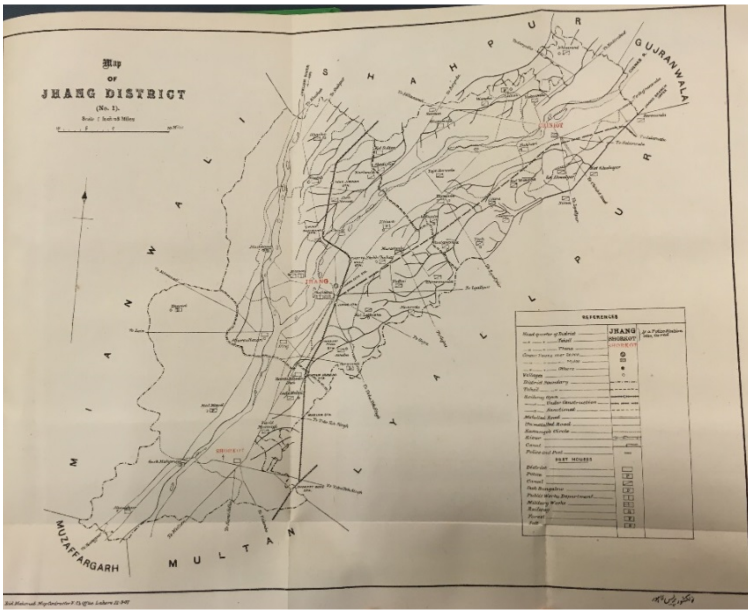

Figure 3.33 Map of Jhang District, showing *tahsils* of Jhang, Shorkot, and Chiniot.[63]

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[62] F.G. Fagan, *Final Report of the Revision of Settlement, 1892-99 of the Montgomery District* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1899), accessed at India Office Record Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. W 1219, (Photographed by Author)

[63] E.R.Abbott. *Settlement Report of the Jhang District, 1906* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1907), accessed at India Office Record Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. W 1395, (Photographed by Author)

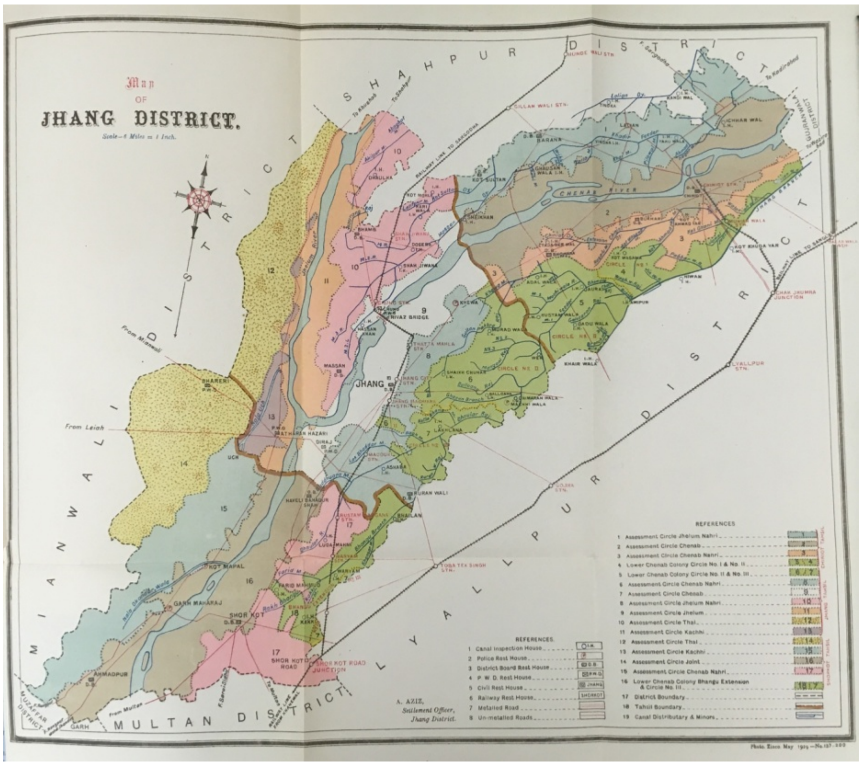

Figure 3.34 Map of Jhang District, showing three *tahsils* of Jhang, Shorkot, and Chiniot.[64]

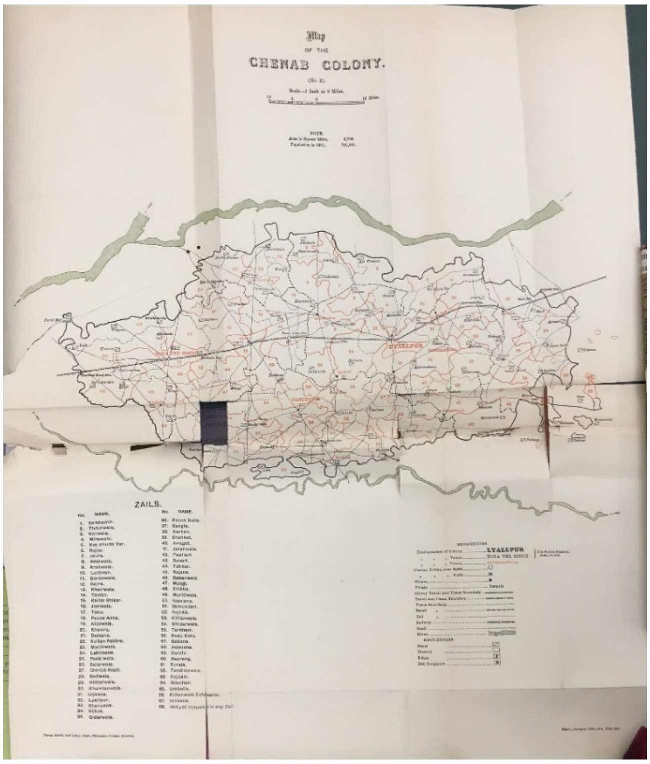

Figure 3.35 Map of Lyallpur, showing three *tahsils* of Lyallpur, Toba Tek Singh and Samundari.[65]

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[64] Mian Abdul Aziz, *Final Report of the Fourth Regular Settlement of the Jhang District, 1928* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab, 1928), accessed at India Office Record Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. P/W 231 (Photographed by Author)

[65] *Gazetteer of the Chenab Colony, 1905*, (Photographed by Author)

Figure 3.36 Map of Lyallpur, showing *tahsils* of Lyallpur, Toba Tek Singh and Samundari.[66]

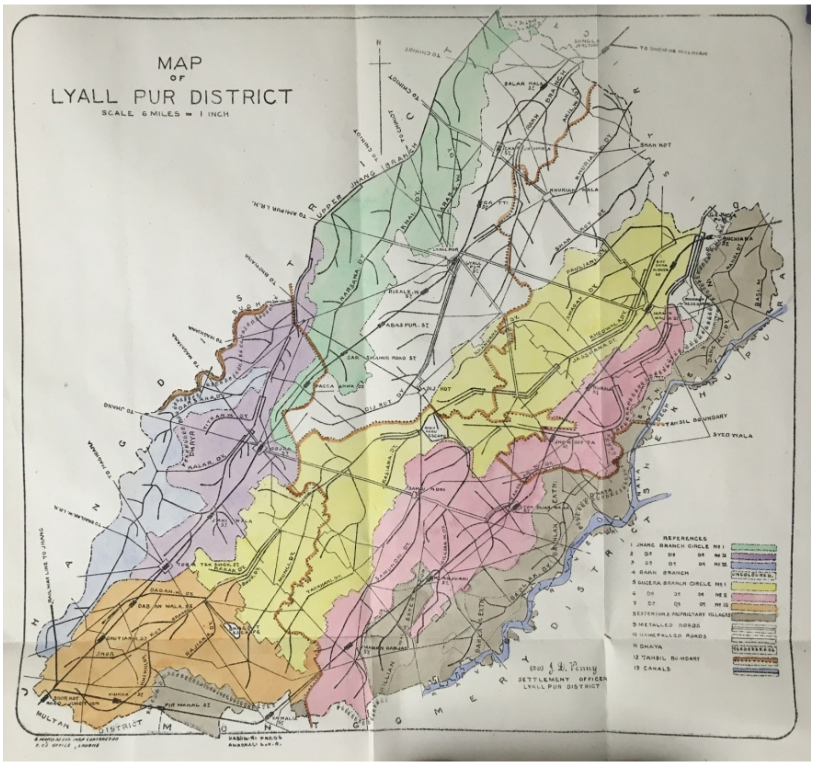

Figure 3.37 Map of Lyallpur District, showing four *tahsils* of Lyallpur, Toba Tek Singh, Samundri, and Jaranwala.[67]

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[66] *Gazetteer of the Chenab Colony, 1905*, (Photographed by Author)

[67] Penny, 1925, (Photographed by Author)

3.3.3 The Designation of Headquarter Towns

In the process of reorganising the regional space in the western *doabs* of the Punjab, headquarter towns of the old and newly formed districts were either re-established at existing old towns of pre-colonial times or in some cases re-located to other towns, for achieving better administration, governance, and economic control. The headquarter town of the Upper Rechna Doab was first located at Wazirabad. With the split of this vast district into smaller-sized districts, however, the headquarter towns of newly constituted districts were established at towns of Gujranwala and Sialkot, respectively. In one district of the Multan Division, originally the headquarter town was located at the historical town of Shorkot. It was later shifted to twin towns of Jhang-Maghiana and the district was renamed as Jhang District. Similarly, the headquarter town was shifted from old town of Gugera to Montgomery with the laying out of the new town of Montgomery in 1865. The development of these headquarter towns is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

Within the district, the towns went through changes in their roles as district headquarters. Some towns acquired new roles and prospered, while others diminished to *tahsil* level or even small sized towns. In Montgomery District, the district headquarter was shifted from the town of Gugera to the new town of Montgomery. The importance of Gugera during the pre-colonial times diminished during the colonial times as it was reduced to a *tahsil* headquarter town. This continued to paralyse its growth and importance, even in post-colonial times (see Figure 3.32). Similarly, in Shahpur District, a new town of Sargodha was laid out near the old settlement of Shahpur, to act as new district headquarter. Shahpur, reduced to a *tahsil* headquarter, has since then been reduced in importance as an urban and economic centre in the region (see Figure 3.26, and Figure 3.27). In Jhang District, the district headquarter was moved from Shorkot to Jhang-Maghiana. Shorkot, now is a small *tahsil* headquarter town which, however, has retained its importance as a military centre other than the market town due to the presence of Pakistan Air Force base and cantonment (see Figure 3.33, and Figure 3.34). In Lahore Division, a cantonment was first laid out at Wazirabad, later the district headquarter was shifted to Gujranwala. The garrison at Wazirabad was deserted and shifted to the newly laid cantonment at the outskirts of the walled town of Sialkot, for political reasons to safeguard against the Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu and Kashmir (development of Sialkot with cantonment is discussed in detail in Chapter 4). While Sialkot and Gujranwala prospered and acquired the status of district headquarter towns in their respective districts, Wazirabad was since then reduced to a *tahsil* headquarter town, and this continue to paralyse its growth, even up until present times. Likewise, Eminabad, a prominent market town of the Mughal times and an old *parganah* under which the village settlement of Gujranwala used to fall, has now been reduced to a small town during the British times with the establishment of Gujranwala as the district headquarter. The growth of Eminabad is paralysed since then even during the post-colonial times (see Figure 3.21, and Figure 3.22). Further, in the Sialkot District, the change of the *tahsil* headquarter from Zafarwal to Narowal reduced the former to a small town that affected its growth even in the post-colonial times, while the new *tahsil* headquarter Narowal emerged as a major market town in the district (see Figure 3.24). Similarly, in the case of the newly formed Sheikhupura District, Sheikhupura, which was hitherto a village settlement, the process was reversed as this village settlement of Mughal times was raised to a level of town and was developed as the headquarter of the new district of Sheikhupura during the colonial times (see Figure 3.25).

3.4 The Role of Headquarter Towns as Imperial Centres

During the colonisation of the western *doabs* of the Punjab through canal colonies and agricultural development, the British colonial officials affected the urbanisation of this region. In the process, the British developed old and new urban centres and rural settlements. Among the widespread agricultural fields and countryside, rural settlements of villages and *chaks*, and towns of varying size and population, of the vast land of the Punjab, the British exerted control and order through an effective administrative and governance system, discussed above in the section 3.2 of this chapter. This was achieved and made possible through developing a headquarter town in each district, that acted as a major urban centre in that district. The headquarter towns of the districts were developed as a part of this widespread system of the imperial rule. Lying in between the divisional headquarter cities and rural settlements of villages, these district headquarter towns were urban centres of medium size and population. The serving British officials of high rank governs the whole district while residing in the district headquarter. Equipped with the necessary facilities and buildings for the civil and revenue administration, these headquarter towns acted as the middle centres of the imperial system, disseminating the imperial control and authority throughout the landscape of the Punjab.

The headquarter town in a district also acted as stations for the British officials serving in the district. During the early years of colonisation in the vast and untamed landscape of the surrounding countryside, these towns were developed with civil stations, housing the necessary administrative and residential facilities for the colonial rulers and administrators. Headquarter towns usually were the most developed urban centres in a district, second to the big divisional capital cities of the region. In the process of colonisation, the surrounding countryside became more and more dependent on these headquarter towns, that offered the higher courts, educational institutions and health facilities, and most importantly biggest *mandis* (markets) at the district level. This interdependency of the urban and rural settlements acted in favour of the serving British officials to exert their control on the populace and produce of the whole district.

3.4.1 Centres of Power and Governance

The headquarter town of the district was planned with a necessary civil station, for functioning of the town as a district headquarter. These civil stations, called *kutchery* in the local language, were equipped with various public offices related to civil administration of the whole district, including the offices of the deputy commissioners, district councils, revenue department, as well as district courts, district jail and police lines. Further, the administrative control was extended throughout the district with police stations at major towns and locations. The main police stations in a district are called *thannas* that covered a specific area, and each *thanna* has *chowkis* (outposts) and *rah-chowkis* (road posts) under its jurisdiction that were spread out to ensure law and order. See Plate 7 of Appendix I, Plate 9 and Plate 10 of Appendix II, Plate 7 of Appendix IV, for the *thanna* limits and location of police stations in three canal colony districts.

Other than serving as the centres of civil administration, the expansion of the town with the cantonment also made these towns as centres of military administration in the region. These cantonments were mainly developed for army personnel, outside the old towns. For instance, the old town of Sialkot was extended with the new cantonment laid out on the north of its walled area (discussed in detail in Chapter 4). Another entirely new town of Sargodha was laid out with the Air Base for Royal Air Force that gave the town its significance as a major Air Base in the region throughout its history and even today. Furthermore, the British developed hospitals with dispensaries, prominent educational institutions like Murray College of Sialkot and Punjab Agricultural College in Lyallpur, in these headquarter towns of the district. These, too, bring the people from the district to these headquarter towns. The headquarter towns in the canal colony districts, thus, emerged as the major centres of power and governance of the British Raj.

The effect of this role on the urban form of the town is discussed in detail in the Chapters 4 and 5.

3.4.2 Centres of Economy and Trade (Market Towns)

Other than the role of the town as an imperial centre of power and governance, these headquarter towns also acted as centres of imperial economy. With the development of the agriculture in this region, together with the linkage of the Punjab to the world market, the agricultural produce of the countryside was dependent on these urban centres in the district. The district maps from Figure 3.21 to Figure 3.37, show the main market towns in each district. The prices of the crop varied according to the rates in the world market, which made the farmer in the countryside more and more dependent on the world market. Since the headquarter towns in a district offered the bigger grain markets, the farmers were attracted to it to get higher prices. The headquarter town acted as a principal market town in the district that collected, regulated, redistributed, and facilitated the trade of various agricultural and non-agricultural produce of the district. The influence of this role of headquarters as centres of economy on urban form of these towns is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

3.4.3 The Role of Infrastructure in facilitating the Town's Role

The development of transportation networks of railways and roads influenced the town's status and role in the region. Most of the district headquarter towns were established along the main rail lines and major roads, and were interlinked with each other and with the divisional headquarters. This ensured the spread of imperial authority throughout the region. For instance, with the advent of the railway line between Lahore and Multan in 1855, the district headquarter was shifted to the new town of Montgomery by 1864, that is located mid-way between two divisional headquarters of Lahore and Multan (see Figure 3.32).[68] Similarly, new town of Lyallpur is along the main Wazirabad-Khanewal Branch of the North-Western Railway, and main Chiniot Road (see Figure 3.35, Figure 3.36, and Figure 3.37). Gujranwala is located on the main Grand Trunk Road, connecting it to the divisional capitals of Lahore and Rawalpindi (see Figure 3.21, and Figure 3.22). Likewise, district headquarter town of Sheikhupura is developed along the road between the divisional capital of Lahore and district headquarter of Sargodha (see Figure 3.25). Besides, the line of telegraph runs along the railway tracks, with post and telegraph offices in and near every main railway station and town. This further facilitated

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[68] *Gazetteer of the Montgomery District, 1884*, pp. 37-38.

their administrative and economic roles by providing readily and efficient exchange of communication between various urban centres of the empire. The principal towns and stations also had rest houses that were connected through the infrastructural networks of roads, railways, post and telegraph systems. See Plate 8 of Appendix I, Plate 3 of Appendix II, and Plate 1 of Appendix IV, for roads and lines of traffic, rest houses and ferries, in Gujranwala District, Gujrat District, and Montgomery District, respectively.

In addition, the railways and roads linked these headquarter towns to other market towns and to the sea ports of Karachi and Bombay that ensured the movement of people and goods between various urban centres, and tied these Punjabi towns to the world economy, affecting the trade activity of the region. The British Punjab became the most market-oriented commercial province in Asia as a result. In the district of Gujranwala, for instance, main cash crops were sugarcane, cotton, wheat, and rice. Other crops included: flax, mehndi, gram, tobacco, and jowar. The jungle tracts of the *bar* contributed to the export of the *ghi* (a local form of butter), wool and timber. Besides its agricultural produce, this district had a populace of the artisans and craftsmen that added to the main exports of the district including, vessels of brass, bell-metal, and leather, and small quantities of jewelry, shawls and scarfs. A small town of Nizamabad near Wazirabad was also renowned for its cutlery and iron workers. The prominent market towns of this district included Gujranwala, Eminabad, Kila Didar Singh, Wazirabad, Sohdara, Ramnagar, Akalgarh, Pindi Bhattian, Hafizabad, and Sheikhupura. These towns in the district were connected through the new systems of roads and railways with the regional and world markets. See the Districts Maps of Gujranwala in Plates 1 to 9 of Appendix I for the location of these market towns, connected with roads, rail lines, and ferries.These infrastructural developments aided the role of these towns not only as administrative centres, but also as major market towns in the district. Further, the influence of these infrastructural facilities on town form of district headquarters is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

3.5 Conclusion

In the urbanisation of the West Punjab, the agricultural colonisation played a decisive role, influencing the regional space. The restructuring of space through division of land into lendable squares, continual shifting of the district boundaries, making of new districts, change of district headquarter towns, extension of old towns, and planning of new towns and villages, reflected the space, both at district and urban level, at the discretion of the imperial rulers. The imperial authority over the region was exerted through the reorganisation of space and development of urban centres at various urban scales. Towns' changing roles as district headquarters aided the imperial rulers to control the region's populace and economy, with these towns acting as middle centres of civil and military administration, and hubs of economy and trade between big cities and small towns and villages of the region. Discussing these space transformations within the West Punjab, this chapter has attempted to bring in light the widespread network of imperial power and authority, and economy and trade, throughout the region during the British rule. How then the role of the headquarter towns as middle centres of imperial power and economy influenced their urban forms is discussed in the next Chapter 4.

PART TWO: URBAN FORM AND ARCHITECTURE OF HEADQUARTER TOWNS

Chapter 4: Appropriating an Old Town to serve as a District Headquarter

Chapter 5: Urban Form of New Towns as District Headquarters

Chapter 6: Spaces of Power and Governance, and Economy

4 . Appropriating an Old Town to serve as a District Headquarter

Chapter 4 of Thesis

4.1 Introduction

The old towns of the Punjab experienced transformation in their urban form and architecture during the British colonial rule (1849-1947). These changes in the historical towns equipped them to serve as headquarter towns in their respective districts. The Punjab at the time of Partition 1947 had about 29 districts other than the princely states in its five divisions of Rawalpindi, Lahore, Multan, Jullundur, and Ambala (see Figure 4.1). In most of these districts, an old Punjabi town or a village settlement was expanded to serve as a headquarter town in its respective district. This chapter will address the questions of how and in what ways the urban form of these historical settlements were impacted, highlighting the reasons behind such space appropriation and urban interventions linked to the imperial imperatives of power and economy in the region.

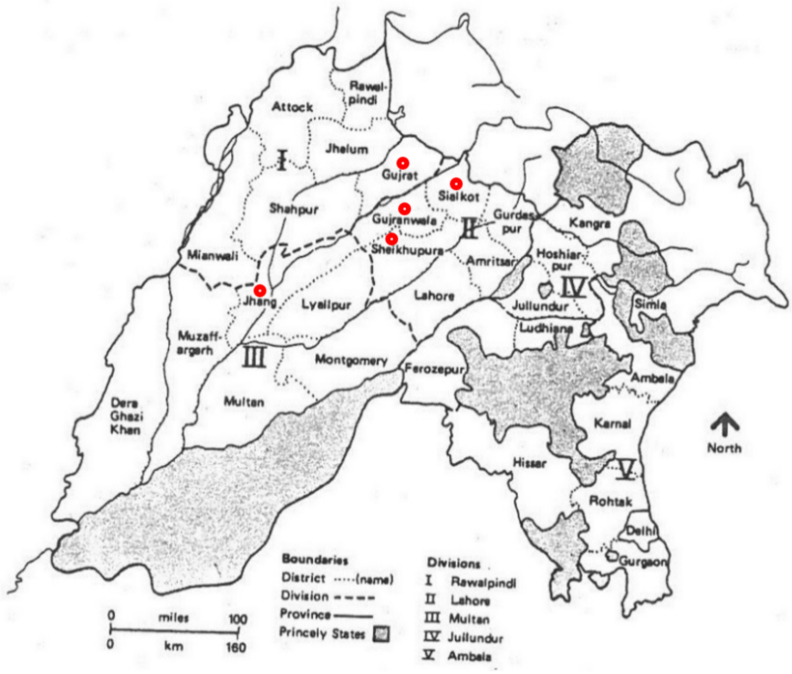

Figure 4.1 Map of British Punjab, 1947, showing old towns under study with red dots, in relation to other districts and divisions.[1]

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[1] Author's own illustration. Source of Base Map: Imran Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.1.

This chapter focuses on five old towns of the West Punjab, namely Sialkot, Sheikhupura, Gujranwala, Gujrat, and Jhang (see Figure 4.1). Starting with the brief discussion of certain commonalities and specificities of these five towns, this chapter will move on to discuss the analysis of one town as a case study, i.e. Sialkot. These five towns will be discussed and analysed in the light of the political, strategic and economic imperatives of the Empire and how these imperial necessities of the new rulers shape these towns. The method of selecting more than one town for general discussion at the start of the chapter and then going into a detailed analysis of one town is adopted for multiple reasons. First and foremost reason for such an approach is to explore the variety of types of urban settlements that were developed as the district headquarter towns, and help to highlight the general features of colonial towns. The other reason is to deal with the issues of fragmentary historical records available for the towns of the Punjab. Where available, the historical town maps are analysed side by side, in case of non-availability of which, the contemporary maps of the towns acquired either through the local administrative offices (Offices of Tehsil Municipal Authority OR TMA Offices) during the field surveys or accessed online i.e., google maps are studied. Based on fieldwork conducted in these five towns, together with the consultation of archival references and the literature review, this chapter will generate an enriched historical narrative and discussion on how the old Punjabi towns, and their urban forms were impacted during the British rule. In case of fieldwork, the photographic surveys were conducted in these towns in order to draw an understanding of towns' evolution and development. The chapter will conclude by drawing on the commonalities of the colonial towns that were developed as district headquarters in old towns during the British rule in the Punjab.

4.2 Old Towns of West Punjab and their Transformation

The headquarter towns of the canal colony districts of the West Punjab, during the British imperial rule, were usually developed in the existing old towns of the Punjab. The origins of these towns differ and are mostly obscure. While some of these old towns endured as urban centres throughout their pre-colonial history, others were more like village settlements that only reached prominence as urban centres in recent times. Sialkot was a walled town of ancient origins that remained important urban centre almost throughout the pre-historical and historical times. Gujrat, similarly, was a town of ancient origins, but it rose to prominence as an urban centre much later during the Mughal times. The other three towns were more of a village settlements up until the medieval times. Gujranwala, for instance, was a village settlement before the Sikh rule, and rose to prominence during the rule of Sikh Kingdom. Likewise, the town of Jhang was a small village settlement up until the fifteenth century, when the ruling dynasty Sial of this region founded a town here. Similarly, Sheikhupura, was a village settlement developed as a hunting resort by the Mughal Emperor Jahangir and rose to a level of town only during the colonial times. The origins and pre-colonial histories of Sialkot, Gujranwala, Gujrat, Jhang and Sheikhupura, are discussed in detail in Chapter 1.

The surviving urban form and architecture of these towns usually dates back to medieval times. Developed mostly on high mounds with a fort, these towns have retained their medieval characteristics of labyrinthine streets, old *mohallas* (neighbourhoods), bazaars, and historical buildings of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh periods. The oldest among these towns, is Sialkot, which was fortified first by Raja Saliwahan in around 65 or 70 AD.[2] The urban form of its old walled town is discussed in the next section 4.3 of this chapter. Gujrat, on the other hand, was developed during the medieval times, by the Mughal Emperor Akbar who built a fort here for common people with a *baoli* (step well) and an Akbari *Hammam* (bath), in its walled town. Today, the old fort is completely rebuilt by the local residents and the *baoli* is covered up, while Akbari Hammam is in a dilapidated condition with poor maintenance (see Figure 4.2, and Figure 4.3). Sheikhupura, however, was a village settlement during Mughal times, where then the Emperor Jahangir built a fort (see Figure 4.4), and developed a hunting resort in the complex of Hiran Minar. Gujranwala, on the other hand, was developed as a walled town with gates, originally in the Sikh times when Charrat Singh built a fort here in 1756 AD.[3] Jhang was originally founded in 1462 AD, and rebuilt during the Mughal times in 1688 AD after its destruction by a flood.[4] The old town of Jhang, too, was fortified, and has labyrinthine street pattern in its old *mohallas* (see Figure 4.5). Though these walled towns are in dire need of conservation and documentation of their urban fabric and architecture, these towns of pre-colonial origins continue to exhibit the amalgamation of the old traditional with the new modern living ways in their built heritage today. The architecture of some of the street mansions of these towns built during the colonial times, displayed this amalgamation of the old with the new in their street facades (discussed in Chapter 6). These towns also have retained much closer ties

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[2] Abdul Rehman, *Historic Towns of Punjab: Ancient and Medieval Period* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1997), p. 84.

[3] Rehman, ibid., pp. 257-258.

[4] *Jhang-Maghiana,* (Encyclopedia Britannica), online <https://www.britannica.com/place/Jhang-Maghiana>, [accessed on 20 September 2018].

with the surrounding countryside, depicting more of old village-like lifestyle in their new urban living, even today, than the big capital cities of the Punjab.

Figure 4.2 View of a narrow street in the walled town of Gujrat.[5]

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[5] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.3 Akbari Hammam, at the walled town of Gujrat.[6]

Figure 4.4 Old buildings of Mughal and Sikh times in the Sheikhupura Fort.[7]

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[6] Photograph by Author.

[7] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.5 View of a narrow street in the old *mohalla* of the walled town of Jhang.[8]

While the old neighbourhoods of these towns continue to exist, during British times, these historical towns were expanded beyond their fortifications, in the suburbs of the walled towns, giving new and contrasting urban patterns to their old urban fabric. The new colonial towns were developed with civil station, outside the walled area of the town. Civil stations were laid out with wide and straight roads, and housed the public offices related to civil administration of the town and the district which facilitated their role in the district as headquarter towns (role of a headquarter town as an imperial centre of political authority in a district is discussed in Chapter 3). The civil stations also had the facilities of the officers' club, *dak* bungalows (rest houses), post and telegraph offices,

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[8] Photograph by Author.

and the residences of the serving British officers in the district. The architecture of public offices of the civil station in these towns is discussed in Chapter 6.

Though these civil stations were developed outside the walled town, these were laid out in close proximity to the walled towns, and mostly along the main roads. Gujranwala was developed as a headquarter town of this district with civil station outside the old walled town, but on the other side of the main regional road, Grand Trunk Road, to the walled town, along its main Sialkot Road (see Figure 4.6). In Gujrat, the civil station was developed outside and on the north of the walled town, along the main district road of Jalalpur Jattan Road and was connected to old town through two main roads, Kot Road and Jinnah Road (see Figure 4.7). In case of old town of Jhang, however, the new civil station was developed outside the walled town at Maghiana, a village settlement, situated at quite a distance of about two miles from the walled town of Jhang. The administrative headquarter, civil station at Maghiana, was connected to old walled town of Jhang through main roads of Sargodha-Jhang Multan Road and Old Chiniot Road, and the two settlements were regarded as twin towns, often referred to as Jhang-Maghiana in the district gazetteers and other governmental reports. The choice of site for new civil station at Maghiana was also the result of locating it on high lands of Maghiana rather than near low lands of the old walled town of Jhang (see Figure 4.8). Together these twin towns, Jhang-Maghiana, constituted a single municipality in 1862, and acted as headquarter of Jhang District.[9] In Sheikhupura, the new civil station was developed along the main Sargodha Road that also connected it to the nearby old fort and walled town of Sheikhupura (see Figure 4.9). At Sialkot, however, the town was developed not only with a civil station but also with a cantonment, on north of its walled town. The development of Sialkot during the colonial times is discussed in detail in the section 4.3 of this chapter. In all these towns, the bazars evolved gradually along the main streets of the civil station, with street mansions (their architecture is discussed in the Chapter 6). Grain markets were also developed in these civil stations along with administrative offices and facilities for the selling and buying of the agricultural produce of the district facilitating their role in district as imperial centre for economy and trade (see Figure 4.9 for grain market located in headquarter town of Sheikhupura).

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[9] *Gazetteer of the Jhang District, 1883-84* (Lahore: Arya Press, 1884; Reprinted by Sang-e-Meel Publication Lahore, 2012), p.165.

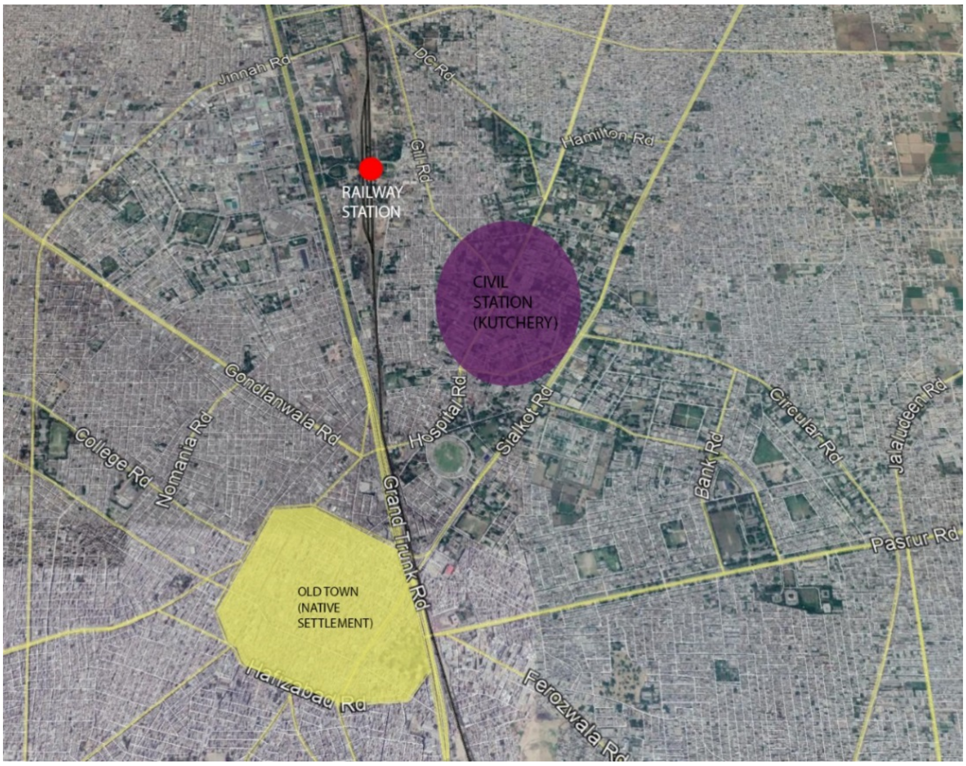

Figure 4.6 Map of town of Gujranwala, showing the walled town, civil station and railway station.[10]

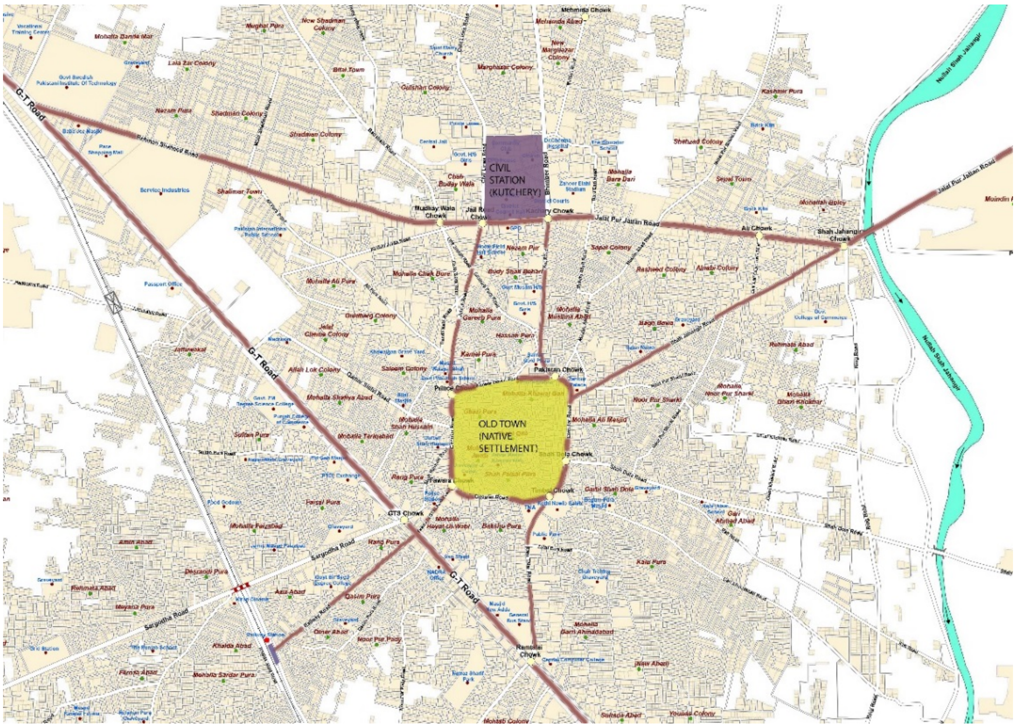

Figure 4.7 Map of the town of Gujrat, showing the walled town, civil station and the railway station.[11]

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[10] Author's own illustration. Source of Base Map: *Map of Gujranwala,* (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 26 September 2018].

[11] Author's own illustration. Source of Base Map: *Base Map, Gujrat (2011)*, (Tehsil Municipal Administration Gujrat), online <http://tmagujrat.lgpunjab.org.pk/larg-images/Base%20Map.pdf>, [accessed on 26 September 2018].

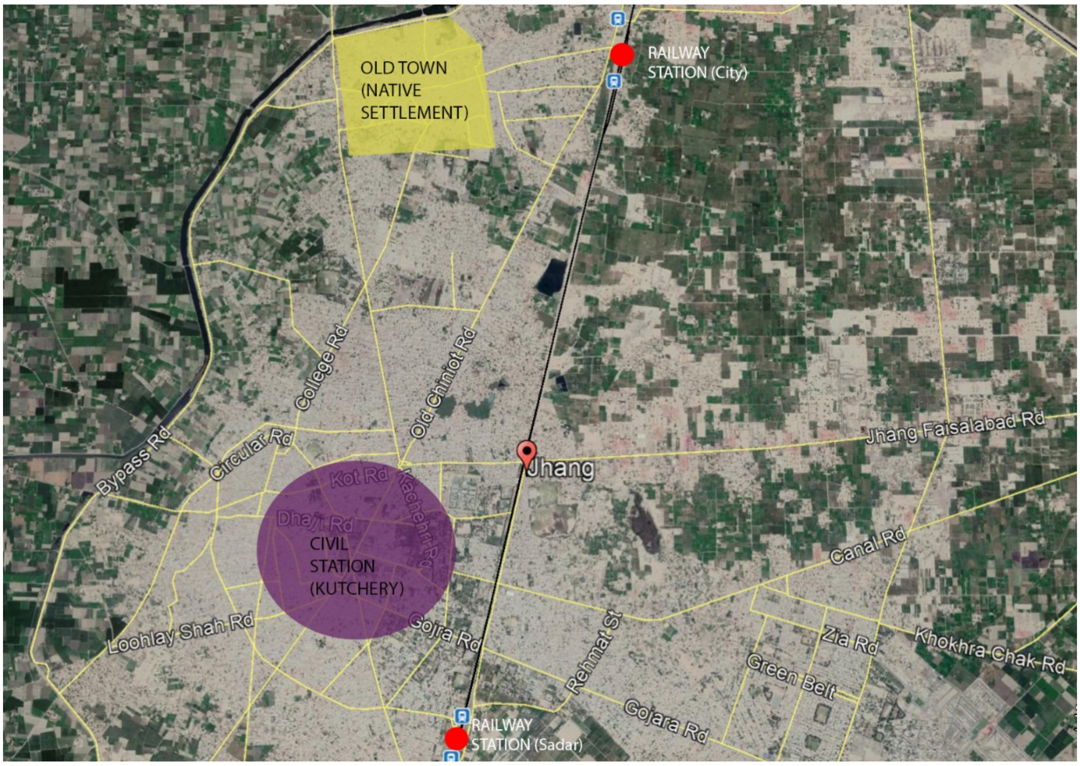

Figure 4.8 Map of town of Jhang, showing the walled town, civil station and railway station.[12]

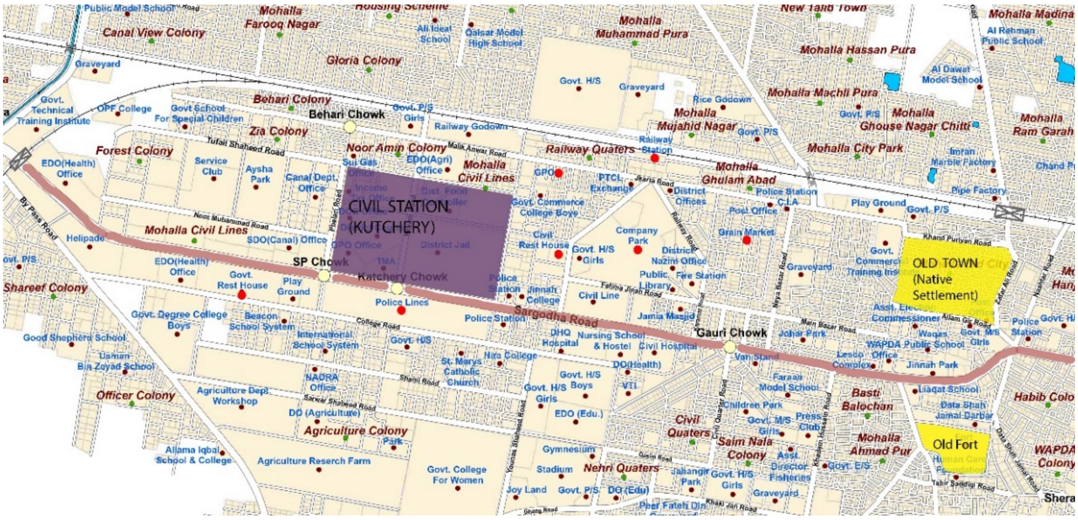

Figure 4.9 Map of town of Sheikhupura, showing the walled town, civil station, grain market and railway station.[13]

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[12] Author's own illustration. Source of Base Map: *Map of Jhang,* (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 26 September 2018].

[13] Author's own illustration. Source of Base Map: *Base Map, Sheikhupura (2011),* (Tehsil Municipal Administration Sheikhupura), online <http://tmasheikhupura.lgpunjab.org.pk/larg-images/Base%20Map.pdf>, [accessed on 26 September 2018].

Moreover, in all these towns, the civil stations were developed with and close to the railway lines and stations that further facilitated the role of the town as an administrative and economic centre. These railway stations often became the limits of the new colonial towns, influencing the urban form of these towns. For instance, in Gujrat, the railway line and station defined the new expanded limits of the town towards the west of the walled town (see Figure 4.7). At Jhang, railway line and its stations defined the eastern boundary of the colonial town, and the walled town and the new civil station were located towards the west of the railway line (see Figure 4.8). Similarly, the colonial town of Sheikhupura remained on one side of the railway track, towards its south, while the railway line together with station demarcated the northern limit of the town during the British times (see Figure 4.9). In other two towns of Gujranwala and Sialkot, the railway line, located in between the old walled town and the new colonial town, acted more as a physical means to segregate the new from the old (see Figure 4.6 for railway line in black colour along Grand Trunk Road between old walled town and new civil station).

Drawing on these commonalities on the colonial development of these five of towns as headquarters in their respective districts, this chapter will now go into detail of the growth of Sialkot during the British times as a case study in the next section 4.3.

4.3 Sialkot

Located in Pakistan, Sialkot is a border district in the Punjab along the India-Pakistan boundary line created upon Independence 1947. The headquarter town of Sialkot, today, can be approached from the provincial capital of Lahore, following either the Gujranwala-Sialkot Road or the newly developed secondary road, Eminabad Road, both these roads branch out from the main Grand Trunk Road. Following Eminabad Road, passing through the lush green rice fields of the districts of Gujranwala and Sialkot, villages and the countryside dotted with red brick kilns and road bridges over the two canals of Marala-Ravi Link Canal and Banbawali Ravi Bedian Canal, one enters Southeastern corner of the old walled town of Sialkot on its circular road (see Figure 4.10, Figure 4.11, Figure 4.12, Figure 4.13, and Figure 4.14).

Figure 4.10 View of Eminabad Road to Sialkot with surrounding countryside.[14]

Figure 4.11 View of surrounding countryside and rice fields from Eminabad Road to Sialkot.[15]

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[14] Photograph by Author.

[15] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.12 View of brick kiln alongside Eminabad Road to Sialkot.[16]

Figure 4.13 View of a branch canal from the vehicular bridge on Eminabad Road to Sialkot.[17]

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[16] Photograph by Author.

[17] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.14 View of Circular Road of Sialkot.[18]

During British times, Sialkot District was oblong in shape, with an area of around 1,962 square miles, about a million population, and had 2,517 estates, according to the Final Settlement Report of the Fourth Settlement 1915. It was second in terms of population and sixth as per amount of land revenue in the province.[19] Located in the Lahore Division, it was one of the earliest and newly carved out district out of the big district of the Upper Rechna Doab, alongside the Gujranwala District, and was developed both as the canal colony and military recruitment district during the British rule (the creation of districts is discussed in detail in Chapter 3). Its old walled town of Sialkot was made the headquarter of this district upon the shift of the army garrison from the previous headquarter town of Wazirabad to Sialkot with the laying out of the new cantonment on the outskirts of its old town in 1852. This colonial development of Sialkot was linked with its role as a district headquarter and an imperial centre of power and economy at district level (role of colonial towns is discussed in Chapter 3). With the laying out of cantonment followed by the new civil station, the urban form and growth of Sialkot was affected, expanding the town's boundaries and outreach in the district coupled with influencing the economy and population of this historical town.

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[18] Photograph by Author.

[19] D. J. Boyd, *Final Report of the Fourth Settlement of the Sialkot District, 1915* (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, Punjab, 1918), accessed at India Office Record Collection, British Library London, bookshelf no. W 1407, p.1.

4.3.1 Pre-colonial Sialkot: A Consolidated Settlement with Strong Power and Economic Basis

Brief History of Town's Origin and Evolution

Sialkot was referred to as a large city, a metropolis, throughout its known history, in the epic of Mahabharta, and during the rule of Raja Saliwahan (the town's origin and evolution in various historical periods is discussed in detail in Chapter 1). However, the earlier history of the town's origin is vague and has conflicting stories associated with the origin of Raja Sul, Shal, Shaliva or Saliwahan who is regarded as the founder of the town. The prince possibly during the Saka era, built a fort near Nullak Aik in around 65 or 70 AD[20] (see Figure 4.16 for Nullah Aik that runs near the town). The town was mentioned by the names of 'Sakala' or 'Sagala' in the ancient writings. The present name 'Sialkot' is attributed to its founder prince, and it means the 'Fort of Saliwahan'. When Alexander the Great invaded Sagala/Sialkot in 326 BC, the Greek historian, Arrian, described it as a strong centre of political and military significance, with a fortified wall and a swamp. Sialkot continued to prosper as a centre of Buddhist learning, and a centre of trade during the reign of Ashoka. Quoting Davis, cited by Khan, "There, in a country of Yonakas, a great centre of trade, a city that is called Sagala, situated in a delightful country, abounding in parks and gardens and groves and lakes and tanks, a paradise of rivers and mountains and woods". Several stupas and monasteries built in the city were, however, destroyed during the rule of Pusyamitra when the Mauryan Empire declined by c. 184 BC. The town was restored and flourished as a religious, political and social centre once again when Menander, one of the generals of Demetrius, captured the city and made Sagala his capital. Next, during the rule of the White Huns in around sixth century AD, Mitiragula made this city his capital. In early seventh century AD, a Chinese pilgrim Hwen Tsang visited the country and mentioned about the ruins of the city walls with the foundations still intact showing a circuit of about 3-1/2 miles. He further described about an existing small portion of old city in the middle, about a mile in circuit, and monastery of one hundred monks adjacent to a 200 feet high stupa. There was another stupa built by Asoka, about less than a mile to the northwest.[21]

The historical records of Sialkot then move on to the times of early Muslim rule when the city was ruled by its Brahman Raja. He was defeated by Mahmud of Ghazna

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[20] Rehman, p. 84.

[21] Ahmed N. Khan, *Sialkot: An Ancient City of Pakistan: A Monograph on the History of the Town prepared from Original Sources* (Lahore: The Punjabi Adabi Academy, 1964), pp. 4-7.

(938-1030 AD). In the Delhi Sultanate period, Sialkot was invaded and captured by various Muslim princes (this is discussed in detail in Chapter 1). However, it was not until the rise of the Mughal rule that Sialkot again emerged as an important political, commercial and intellectual centre. During the times of Emperor Jahangir (1605-1627 AD), his appointed governor Sandra Khan repaired the fort and built several new buildings in it, including Shish Mahal and Rang Mahal. Several beautiful houses, mosques and gardens were also built by the locals, however, unfortunately none of these Mughal buildings survived today. The city rose to military importance during the rule of Emperor Shahjahan (1628-1657 AD). The military forces were stationed at eight city-gates, including Kashmiri Gate, Gujrati Gate, Lohari Gate, Delhi Gate, and Mori Gate, however, none of these gates survived today. Ali Mardan Khan, renowned engineer, was made the governor, who built several buildings in the city. Sialkot at that time was also a literary and an intellectual centre.[22] Ali Mardan Khan also built a water channel for irrigation that passed through Kotli Loharan, a small town in the vicinity of Sialkot. Rahmat Khan became the governor of Sialkot during the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707 AD). He built the famous mosque of Sialkot, which was completed in 1726 AD. Situated in the Main Bazaar, this mosque is called 'Do Derwaze wali Masjid', and was repaired twice in 1852 AD and in 1888 AD by the locals. The city's glory and significance declined in the later Mughal rule, when it was reduced to a status of being a dependency of Lahore, during the reign of Mughal ruler Farrukh Siyar (1713-1719 AD). The city also faced the invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani.[23]

In the declining authority of the Mughal rule in the region, the city was captured by a group of Bhangi Sikh leaders, with Jit Singh as the governor of Sialkot. During the reign of Ranjit Singh, Hukma Singh became the governor. A contemporary writer of this time, Shah described, cited by Khan, "When Nadir Shah and Ahmed Durrani invaded the country, most of the places were destroyed. Then the city was devastated by the Sikhs who set it on fire and demolished many of its buildings. But there is still some inhabitations and the people live in *muhallas* situated around the city and named as '*pura*' like Rangpura, Chathiyapura, Walipura, Singhpura, Hajipura, and Mianapura"[24] (see Figure 4.15). Before the Punjab's annexation by the British in 1849, Pandit Kunhya Lal visited the City of Sialkot in April 1847 and wrote, quoted by Rehman, "There is a

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[22] Khan, pp.10-11.

[23] Rehman, p. 86.

[24] Khan, pp. 1-2, 4-7, 8-9, 13-15.

fort said to be built by Raja Salvahan; a Hindu King who reigned about 300 years BC. The fort had no building inside in existence, but a very strong wall all around and has towers. It is the *Ilaqah* of Diwan Tek Chand and Goorditta Mull and Gunda Mull act for him." During the Mutiny 1857, the native troops raised against the Europeans, besieged the fort where Europeans of the town has taken refuge, and plundered the treasury.[25] Besides, the pre-colonial city of Sialkot was a town of commercial significance with its own industries and trade.

Major Industries

Paper manufacturing was the most famous industry of Sialkot that predated the British times. The geography of the town with the close proximity of natural water streams, including Nullah Aik, Nullah Palkhu and Nullah Bher, provided the abundance of clear water needed for paper production, together with natural resources of high quality wood from the neighbouring regions of Jammu and Kashmir on the north of Sialkot District (see Figure 4.15, and Figure 4.16). During the reign of the Mughal Emperor Akbar, Raja Man Singh assisted patronage of the local artisans of paper making in Sialkot and gave the name of 'Man Singhi Kaghaz' to the manufactured paper. This was the best quality paper with white colour, smooth texture and durability. To facilitate the trade and commerce, Emperor Akbar also established a mint for copper coins here. Emperor Jahangir further patronised the paper industry. The finest quality paper he once ordered to be prepared for royal use is called 'Jahangiri Kaghaz'. This type of paper was the most expensive and lighter in weight in the region, and was used mainly in manuscripts of Quran, Pothis of the Hindus, and for *sanads* (certificates). Half of the total produced paper was exported to Amritsar, rest of the paper went as far as Peshawar. In Sialkot District, paper was manufactured mainly in Rangpura, Hiranpura, and Nakapura, suburbs of the city (see Figure 4.15).[26] The paper produced in the local workshops of Sialkot during the Mughal time was famous for its excellent quality throughout North India. It was used in abundance in the Mughal capital of Delhi. This contributed to paper £80,000 in value annually. It was a hereditary profession, mainly practised by the local workmen of descends of Kashmiris and Malik Awans, residing in the Kashmiri Mohalla and Rangpura, respectively.[27]

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[25] Rehman, p. 87.

[26] Khan, pp. 9-11.

[27] Ilyas Chattha, *Partition and Locality: Violence, Migration, and Development in Gujranwala and Sialkot, 1947-1961* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 51.

Another famous industry during the pre-colonial times was iron manufacturing. Works of ironsmiths of Kotli Loharan, a village about three miles north-west of the Sialkot Cantonment, were famous even outside India. Caskets, shields, salvers, and other ornaments and articles, were exported from this village to all over in India and to some parts of Europe, even to America. John Lockwood Kipling, cited by Chattha, mentioned about the ironsmiths of this village who were 'frequently seen in the streets of Calcutta and Bombay'.[28]

Other pre-colonial manufactures included pashmina shawls and leather goods. The embroidered goods alone contributed to the sale of one lac rupees every year. During the Sikh period too, a variety of cotton goods were produced here.[29]

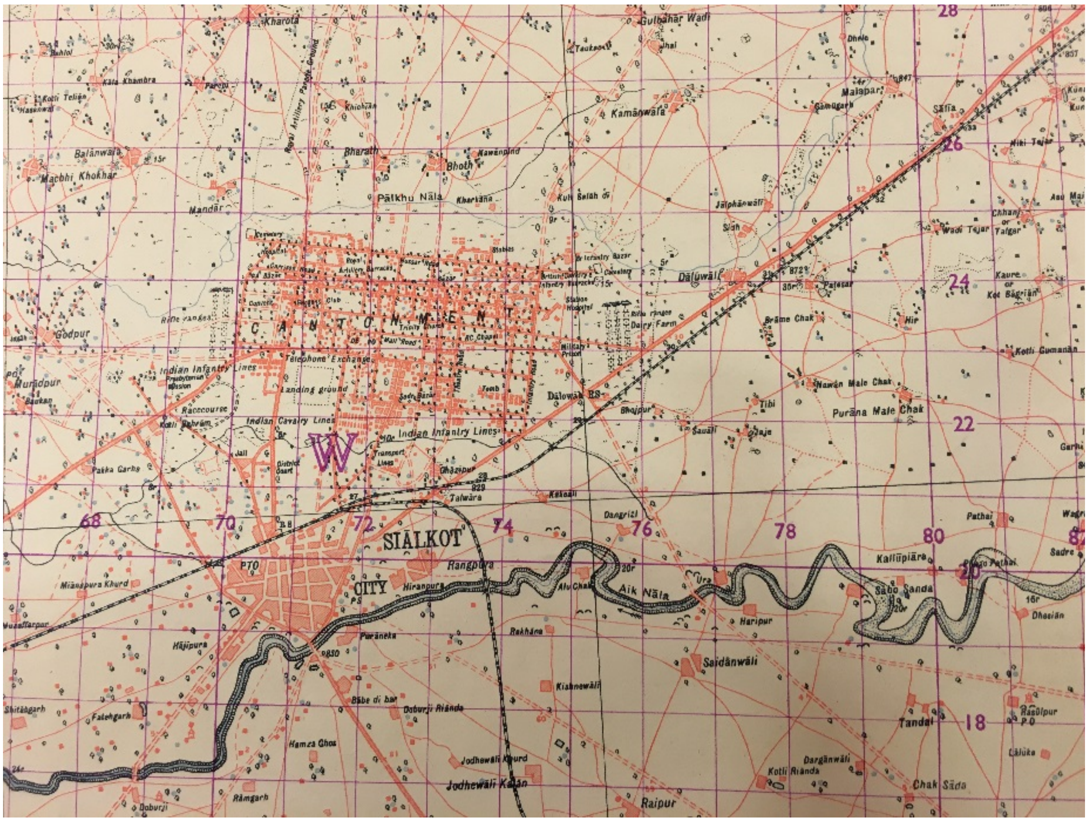

Figure 4.15 Map of Sialkot, showing the walled town, *nullahs* in its countryside and its suburban settlements or *mohallas*.[30]

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[28] Chattha, ibid., p. 51.

[29] Rehman, p. 86.

[30] *Sialkot Cantonment and its Surroundings* (1942), accessed at the Map Collections, India Office Record Collections, British Library, London. (Photographed by Author)

Figure 4.16 View of Nullah Aik, from the bridge of Circular Road, Sialkot.[31]

Urban Form of Old Walled Town

Sialkot was a major political, religious, social, and economic centre throughout its history with fortified town, located on north of Nullah Aik that originates from River Ravi (see Figure 4.16). Beyond its fortified walls, there were rural settlements in its outskirts or suburbs, including Rangpura, Hiranpura, Puraneka, Hajipura, and Mianapura (see Figure 4.15). Rangpura and Hiranpura, located near the Nullah Aik on its north side, were famous for paper manufacturing during the Mughal and Sikh times. About the Puraneka, the legend goes to tell us that the city's founding prince, Raja Saliwahan, had two sons: Puran and Risalu. Puran rose to become a local saint, after being killed by his father. His legend still lives on in a well in Karol or Karal near Sialkot, this place is today called as Puranwala, named after Puran.[32] Alternative account, quoted by Chattha, however, identified Puran as killed by his stepmother and thrown in a well near Sialkot, in a place called Puran Nagar. Puran Nagar was a *mohalla* or a settlement in the suburbs of old town of Sialkot during the British rule, housing mainly the Hindu community till partition 1947, located on the south of Nullah Aik near Gurdwara Babe-di-Bari on Pasrur Road.[33] The other son, Risalu, is believed to have ruled the city. After his death, however, the city fell into famine and plunder, believed to be under the curse of Puran Bhagat.[34] Hindu community mostly lived in Puraneka, Puran Nagar, and Hiranpura,

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[31] Photograph by Author.

[32] Khan, pp. 2-4.

[33] Chattha, p. 47.

[34] Khan, pp. 2-4.

while Rangpura and Mianapura were the suburban settlements of Muslim artisans.[35] All these settlements had medieval characteristics with labyrinthine street patterns, and became congested with time as the families and population grew.

The Sialkot Fort, oldest settlement of the town, was built on a high mound on northern side of walled town by its founder prince, Raja Saliwahan. Several rulers in their times, developed and built buildings in the fort as discussed above, however, today, the only remain of this fort is a small portion of its fortified wall (see Figure 4.17). The fort, originally, was square in plan with each side measuring 300 feet, and was located on a mound of about 50 to 55 feet high.[36] Today, this heighten mound of Sialkot Fort can be approached by a ramp (for vehicular traffic) and stairs, and provides fascinating view of the surrounding walled town (see Figure 4.18, Figure 4.19, and Figure 4.20). This mound and fort premises is now occupied by local municipal corporation offices, a school for boys, and a tomb of a local saint Murad Ali Shah built above the remaining portion of fortified wall (see Figure 4.21, and Figure 4.22). One can also see the tunnels of the British times, now covered with vegetation and blocked with fence, believed to be secret passages to the imperial capital of Delhi (see Figure 4.23). The growth of wild plantation in the remaining wall of the fort and around the tunnels indicate the poor state of conservation which is leading to further deterioration of the historical fabric of the walled town of Sialkot (see Figure 4.17 and Figure 4.23).

Figure 4.17 View of the remaining portion of the fortification wall, Sialkot.[37]

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[35] Chattha, pp. 47-48.

[36] Rehman, p. 89.

[37] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.18 View of staircase to the Sialkot Fort.[38]

Figure 4.19 View of another staircase to the Sialkot Fort.[39]

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[38] Photograph by Author.

[39] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.20 View of walled town of Sialkot from the high mound of the Fort.[40]

Figure 4.21 View of local municipal offices in the Sialkot Fort premises.[41]

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[40] Photograph by Author.

[41] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.22 View of Tomb of Saint Murad Ali Shah, built on top of the remaining wall portion of Sialkot Fort.[42]

Figure 4.23 View of tunnels of the British times, in the premises of Sialkot Fort.[43]

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[42] Photograph by Author.

[43] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.24 Map of walled town of Sialkot, showing the Fort, its surrounding *mohallas* and main bazaar roads.[44]

The surrounding old *mohallas* of the walled town were mostly developed during the medieval times. Some of the famous ones include the Kashmiri Mohalla, Mohalla Kakkay Ziyan, and Mohalla Tiba Syedian, all of which are located on the highest Tibba Jalian on the south of the fort, wherein the *tibba*, defined by Rehman, is the cultural mound, mostly a high place, and a sign of historicity of a particular place (see Figure 4.24 and Figure 4.25). Due to the height variation in Sialkot's walled town, the streets and roads connecting these old settlements with the fort and surrounding area are undulating, while the fort and these *tibbas* lie on the higher altitude than the rest of the city, with the slope dropping towards the Nullah Aik located on the south.[45] The town has bazaars developed over centuries on the main streets of these *mohallas*. While the main bazaar streets are somewhat wider and can support vehicular traffic, the secondary and tertiary streets are narrow and winding pedestrian *gallis* (alleys) (see Figure 4.26,

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[44] Author's own illustration. Source of Base Map*: Base Map, Sialkot (2011),* (Tehsil Municipal Administration Sialkot), online <http://www.tmasialkot.lgpunjab.org.pk/Maps/BM.pdf>, [accessed on 14 May 2016].

[45] Rehman, pp. 88-89.

Figure 4.27, and Figure 4.28). The primary bazaar streets include Main Bazaar Road, Raja Bazaar Road, Urdu Bazaar Road, Gur Mandi Road, Budi Bazaar Road, Jandar Bazaar Road, Kashmiri Bazaar Road, and Allama Iqbal Road (see Figure 4.28, and Figure 4.29). These old bazaars have the shops on the ground floor and residences on the upper floors, in a three to four storey street mansions (see Figure 4.30, and Figure 4.31). Architecture of these street mansions is closely linked to the Kashmiri style due to the proximity of Kashmir to the north of Sialkot, with an extensive use of Kashmiri wood in the construction and stylising of the old traditional houses of these *mohallas* (discussed and documented in detail in Chapter 6).

Figure 4.25 View of Tibba Jalian from the Circular Road, Sialkot.[46]

Figure 4.26 View of the wide main bazaar street, Sialkot.[47]

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[46] Photograph by Author.

[47] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.27 View of a narrow alley, Sialkot.[48]

Figure 4.28 View of bazaar street, Sialkot.[49]

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[48] Photograph by Author.

[49] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.29 A street vendor on main bazaar street, Sialkot.[50]

Figure 4.30 View of a shop of earthenware on a bazaar street in the Kashmiri Mohalla, Sialkot.[51]

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[50] Photograph by Author.

[51] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.31 View of a street mansion in Sialkot with shops on ground floor, and residence on upper floors. Also note the beautiful wooden *jharokas* in Kashmiri style of architecture.[52]

One of the most renowned religious monuments of the medieval times in the walled town of Sialkot is the *Darbar* (Shrine) of Imam Sahib. Located on the south of the Fort, one can see the high domes of the shrine, while approaching it from the Circular Road (see Figure 4.24, Figure 4.32, Figure 4.33, and Figure 4.34). *Pir* (Saint) Imam Ali ul Haq, lived in Sialkot during the reign of Feroz Shah Tughlaq (1351-1388 AD), and was renowned for converting locals to Islam. During Muharram (holy month of mourning in Islamic Calendar), the pilgrims from all over the district pay homage to the saint.

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[52] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.32 View of Shrine of Saint Imam Ali ul Haq from the Circular Road, Sialkot.[53]

Figure 4.33 View of entrance to Shrine of Saint Imam Ali ul Haq, Sialkot.[54]

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[53] Photograph by Author.

[54] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.34 Main building of Shrine of Saint Imam Ali ul Haq, Sialkot.[55]

Another important old monument rising above the skyline of the walled town is the Shawala Teja Singh Temple, located in the Mohalla Dharowal, on south of the Fort (see Figure 4.24, Figure 4.35, and Figure 4.36). In the suburbs outside the walled town, on its south beyond the Nullah Aik, there is another important monument of Sikh community, the Shrine of Baba Guru Nanak, known as Gurdwara Babe-di-Bari that can be accessed from Pasrur Road (see Figure 4.37, Figure 4.38, and Figure 4.39). The annual Baisakhi *mela* (historical and religious festival celebrated in the month of April), at the Gurdwara, attracts the Sikh pilgrims from all over the Punjab. Though these religious monuments of pre-colonial origins continued to survive and co-exist during the colonial time, their dilapidated conditions of the architecture and wall ornamentations at both the temple and the gurdwara in particular indicates the neglect of the conservation of these elegant religious buildings of the town during the post-colonial times.

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[55] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.35 View of Shawala Teja Singh Temple, from the Lady Anderson School in Sialkot.[56]

Figure 4.36 Shawala Teja Singh Temple, Sialkot.[57]

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[56] Photograph by Author.

[57] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.37 Gurdwara Babe-di-Bari, Sialkot.[58]

Figure 4.38 Premises of Gurdwara Babe-di-Bari, Sialkot.[59]

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[58] Photograph by Author.

[59] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.39 View of the interior wall of Gurdwara Babe-di-Bari, Sialkot.[60]

4.3.2 Colonial Interventions: Re-appropriating the Town for Imperial Purposes

The town of Sialkot was one of the earliest urban settlements to experience the transformation from the very beginning of the British rule in the Punjab, when a cantonment was laid out here as early as in 1852. The municipality of Sialkot was, however, formed in 1867, under the Act XV of 1867. Tibba Jalian, the highest point of the town, was selected to build a water tank for supplying municipal water to the town.[61] During the British times, the population of the town of Sialkot increased from 45,762 in 1881 to 139,000 in 1941.[62] Further, the town experienced significant influence on its urban pattern, during the imperial rule, together with the increased importance of the town in the region as a centre of military and civil administration, and also as an important hub of industry and trade (role of colonial towns as imperial centres is discussed in Chapter 3).

Sialkot in 1894, as quoted by Chattha, "was a fairly handsome, well built, and clean town. Its main streets are wide and open, and either paved or metalled, with good drainage on both sides... The sanitary arrangements are excellent, being facilitated by the elevated position of the town and the natural drainage afforded by the Aik stream on its south and east sides. The water-supply is obtained from wells in the city."[63]

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[60] Photograph by Author.

[61] Rehman, p. 87.

[62] Chattha, p. 56.

[63] Chattha, ibid., p. 49.

Influence on Urban Form through Power and Governance

Sialkot Cantonment. The urban form of the old town of Sialkot was transformed and expanded when a cantonment was laid out here in 1852. Sialkot Cantonment was constructed for strategic and political purposes. The main intention was to restrict the movement of troublesome Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu and Kashmir, lying on the northern boundaries of the Sialkot District. The army garrison at the town of Wazirabad was abandoned and shifted to a site north of the old fortified town of Sialkot.

The site of cantonment was chosen by General Charles Naples, and located at a distance of about a mile and a half from the old town. This distance created the visible and tangible separation of the European population living in the new cantonment from the natives of the old town of Sialkot (see Figure 4.40, and Figure 4.41). From the north side, the cantonment was well protected by the natural seasonal water stream of Nullah Palkhu, while the water stream of Nullah Bher on its south side created a natural barrier between cantonment and the old town of Sialkot, emphasising the distinguishing of the living places of European community from the native living styles. This separation was further enhanced when a railway line was laid out near the northern boundary of the walled town, creating an additional physical barrier between the old town and new cantonment. This gave the new cantonment the character of a suburban development, distinct and in contrast to the old settlements of the town, and physically separated from the old historical fabric of the town. These are the common features it shares with the most of cantonments developed in the British India. For instance, the Cantonment at Lahore, the Capital City of the Punjab, is explored in detail in two seminal works of the Vandals[64] and Glover[65], which too was laid out at a distance of several miles from Lahore walled city.

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[64] Pervaiz Vandal and Sajida Vandal, *The Raj, Lahore, and Bhai Ram Singh* (Lahore: NCA Publication, 2006), pp. 60-69.

[65] William J. Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), pp 34-42.

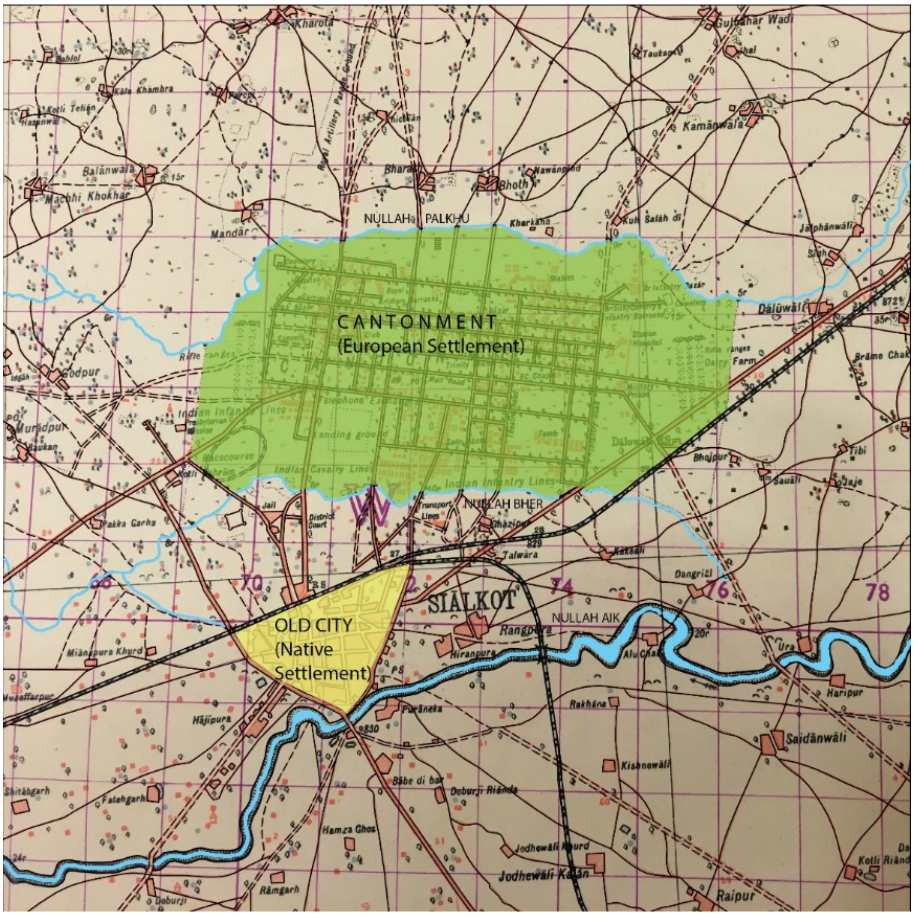

Figure 4.40 Map of Sialkot, showing the relative locations of old town, new extension of cantonment, and natural water streams, Nullahs Palku, Bher and Aik.[66]

Figure 4.41 View of the Tablet located on main road of the Sialkot Cantonment, erected by Col. Commandant Charles Ran (commanding Brigade area from June 1920 to June 1924), showing the relative distances of major towns and cities of Punjab from Sialkot Cantonment.[67]

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[66] Author's own illustration. Source of Base Map: *Sialkot Cantonment and its Surroundings* (1942), accessed at the Map Collections, India Office Record Collections, British Library, London. (Photographed by Author)

[67] Photograph by Author.

Other than the location with visible and physical distance, the new cantonment of Sialkot was in stark contrast to the old walled town in terms of the organisation of its space, urban pattern, layout, scale, size, roads, and buildings. The grand size, grid iron layout, wide and clean roads, spacious bungalows, and public buildings of western architectural styles, reflected the distinct culture and new lifestyle of the European population (see Figure 4.42). Sialkot Cantonment was designed with Holy Trinity Church at its centre along the Mall Road (see Figure 4.43, and Figure 4.44). It was spread over an area of 6,670 acres in a rectangle of two and a half miles in length and a half a mile in breadth. The social order was dictated in its layout by planning of public buildings and officers' houses in the centre of the cantonment, while the regiments were placed on the periphery. Further, the European and native regiments with their own separate hospitals were located well away from each other, the former were situated on the north-east end while the later were laid out towards the south-west near the racecourse (see Figure 4.42). This cantonment was a self-sufficient settlement for army personnel with its own facilities, including convent school, station hospitals, military prison, cemetery, churches, club, parade ground, railway station and bazaars, two grass farms and a dairy farm (see Figure 4.42, Figure 4.43, Figure 4.44, Figure 4.45, Figure 4.46, Figure 4.47, and Figure 4.48). The architecture of colonial buildings of Sialkot Cantonment is discussed in Chapter 6.

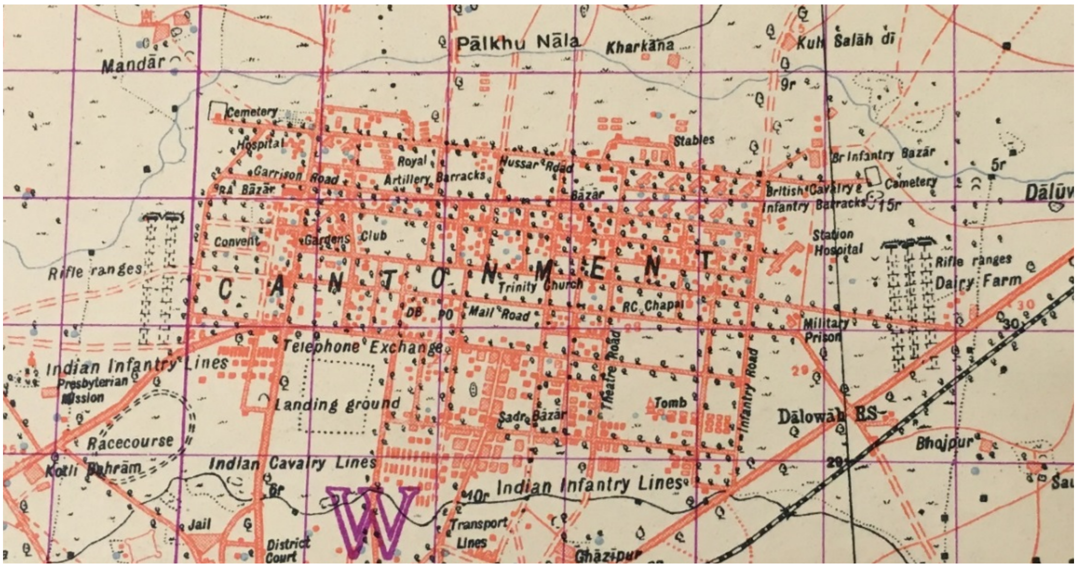

Figure 4.42 Map of Sialkot Cantonment.[68]

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[68] *Sialkot Cantonment and its Surroundings* (1942), accessed at the Map Collections, India Office Record Collections, British Library, London. (Photographed by Author)

Figure 4.43 View of Holy Trinity Church, from the Main Road of Sialkot Cantonment.[69]

Figure 4.44 Holy Trinity Church, Sialkot Cantonment, designed by Mr. Harley Maxwell, 1852.[70]

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[69] Photograph by Author.

[70] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.45 Saint James Church, adjacent to Holy Trinity Church, at Sialkot Cantonment.[71]

Figure 4.46 Convent of Jesus and Mary, Sialkot Cantonment.[72]

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[71] Photograph by Author.

[72] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.47 View of the Sadar Bazaar, Sialkot Cantonment.[73]

Figure 4.48 Clock Tower, erected at Sialkot Cantonment.[74]

In addition to influencing the urban form and lifestyle in Sialkot, the presence of the cantonment gave the town its new role in the region as a centre of military administration. Sialkot Cantonment was third cantonment laid out in West Punjab, after the cantonments of Lahore and Rawalpindi. The presence of the army garrison resulted

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[73] Photograph by Author.

[74] Photograph by Author.

in the continual movement of armed force within the region. The role of colonial towns as imperial military centre is discussed in Chapter 3.

Sialkot Kutchery and Surroundings. In a colonial town, civil station (also referred as *Kutchery*) houses the public buildings of civil administration, including the district courts and revenue offices. The presence of civil station equipped the old town with various facilities and spaces essential for the role of the town as a district headquarter (this role of colonial towns as imperial centre of power is discussed in Chapter 3). These facilities are related to the colonial civil administration, housing the governmental buildings including district courts, session house, revenue office, treasury, record rooms, *tahsil* (sub-divisional) municipal offices (local administration), office of District Commissioner Officer (DCO) and DCO residence, office of District Police Officer (DPO) and DPO residence (see Figure 4.49, Figure 4.50, Figure 4.51, Figure 4.52, and Figure 4.53). The architecture of public buildings of colonial times in civil station of Sialkot is discussed in Chapter 6.

Figure 4.49 View of the Kutchery Chowk, Sialkot Civil Station.[75]

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[75] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.50 View of the Kutchery Premises from the Kutchery Road, Sialkot Civil Station.[76]

Figure 4.51 View of the interior courtyards, Sialkot Civil Station.[77]

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[76] Photograph by Author.

[77] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.52 DCO Office, Sialkot Civil Station.[78]

Figure 4.53 District Cooperative Office, Sialkot Civil Station.[79]

Through its presence, location, layout and spaces, the *Kutchery* premises at Sialkot influenced the urban form and growth of this historical town of the Punjab. Since the various facilities of civil administration in the *Kutchery* were necessary for the everyday functioning of the town, attracting both the native and European population,

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[78] Photograph by Author.

[79] Photograph by Author.

the civil station of Sialkot was planned in between the old walled town and the newly laid cantonment. Located about half a mile southwest of cantonment, along Paris Road, this *Kutchery* of Sialkot acted as an intermediate space between the two distinct communities and settlements of the town (see Figure 4.54). This is another prominent feature of colonial towns in the British India[80], wherein the civil station is mostly laid out along the main road with the shortest distance possible between the old town and the cantonment. This laid out the lines for the future growth of Sialkot in the post-colonial times, for instance, today, all the suburbs between the old walled town and the cantonment are filled in with housing for the increased population of the town.

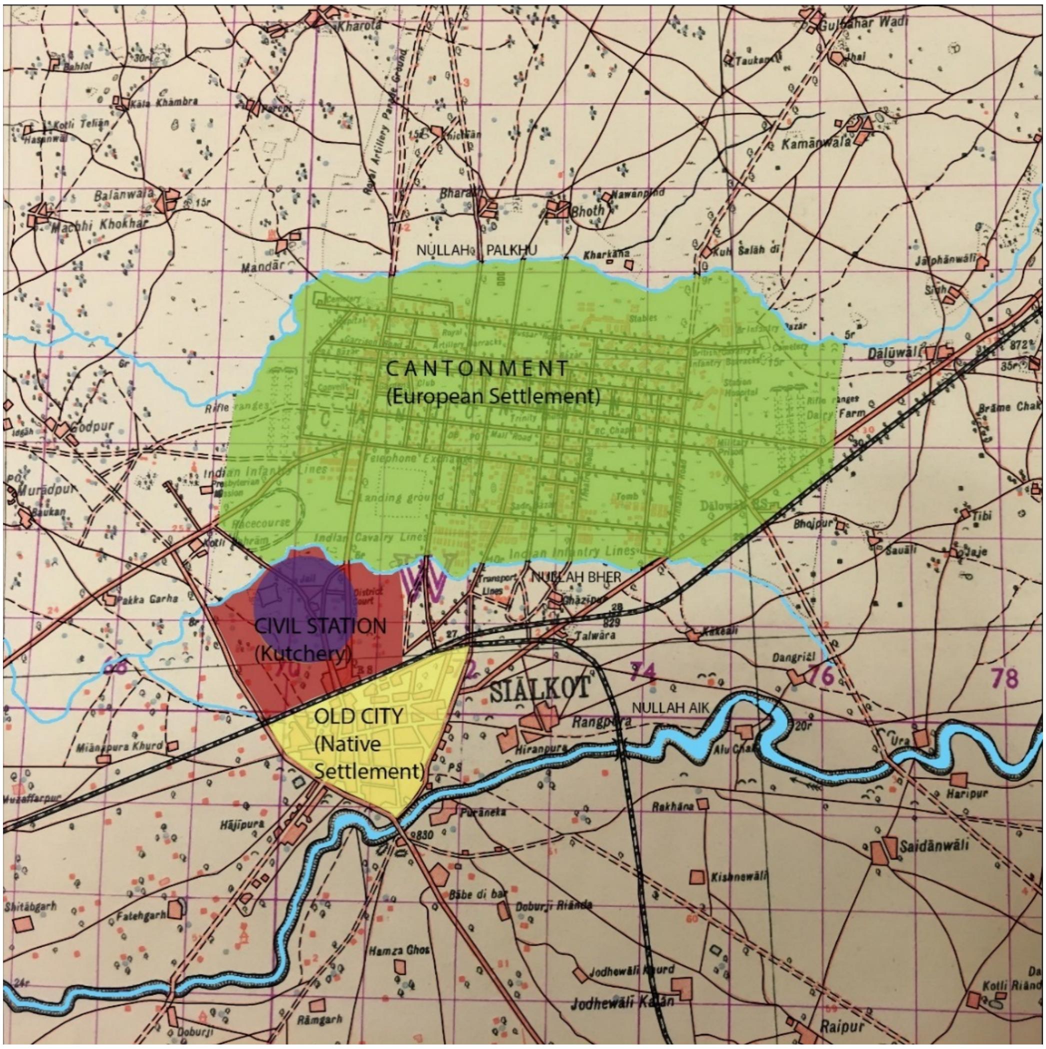

Figure 4.54 Map of Sialkot, showing the relative positions of Kutchery (Civil Station) between the old walled city and the new cantonment.[81]

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[80] Vandals, 2006., and Glover, 2008.

[81] Author's own illustration. Source of Base Map: *Sialkot Cantonment and its Surroundings* (1942), accessed at the Map Collections, India Office Record Collections, British Library, London. (Photographed by Author)

Besides, the *Kutchery* premises often include District Jail and Police Line within or attached to it, ensuring the law and order in a colonial town. Figure 4.55 shows the District Jail of Sialkot, which was laid out adjacent to its *Kutchery* in 1863. Further, the civil station is often planned along main roads of the district and in close proximity to transportation and communication networks of railway station, post and telegraph offices, and *dak* bungalows (see Figure 4.55, Figure 4.56, and Figure 4.57). This ensured the flow of people and goods to headquarter towns from all over the districts. The colonial architecture of these facilities in headquarter towns is discussed in Chapter 6.

Figure 4.55 District Jail, Sialkot, built in 1863.[82]

Figure 4.56 Main building of Railway Station, Sialkot.[83]

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[82] Photograph by Author.

[83] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.57 Railway Station, Sialkot.[84]

With the provision of new colonial governance and infrastructure facilities, the civil station in a colonial town became the symbol of imperial administration, law and order. It ensured the dissemination of imperial power and authority throughout the landscape of the Punjab by developing old settlements as new district headquarters that acted as the middle centres of imperial power, administration and authority, between the divisional capital cities and small towns and villages. This is discussed in Chapter 3.

Unlike the monumental scale adopted in the divisional and regional capital cities of the British Punjab, the public buildings of the *Kutchery* of Sialkot and other district headquarter towns of the West Punjab, were modest in scale, simple in appearance and utilitarian in purpose (see Figure 4.50, Figure 4.51, Figure 4.52, Figure 4.53, Figure 4.55, Figure 4.56, and Figure 4.57). Adopting different western styles of architecture, these buildings have standardised plans reflecting the engineering pursuits of Public Works Department of the Punjab. The architecture of these colonial buildings is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

Other than the public buildings and housing the civil government officers, mainly developed by the colonial administrators, the *Kutchery* premises were occupied by the rich and wealthy classes of the native population that can be seen in case of Sialkot Kutchery. The affluent natives inspired by the new lifestyle of the European population

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[84] Photograph by Author.

in the cantonment, built their own new bungalows in the newly developed civil station of Sialkot, along with their new businesses. The rich upper class Hindu inhabitants, mainly commercial traders and businessmen, shifted from their old settlements of Puraneka, Puran Nagar, and Hiranpura, to new civil station, along its main roads of Paris Road, Kutchery Road and Jail Road.[85] In contrast to the labyrinth narrow streets of old settlements, these roads of the Kutchery premises were wide and paved. The *Kutchery* premises, before partition 1947, thus, emerged as a rich locality and a neighbourhood, housing the affluent Hindu population. They built bungalow-style houses with garden in the front of the land plot, inspired from the bungalows of the cantonment. One such prominent bungalow in red brick was Uberoi Mansion, owned by the famous industrialist, Sardar Ganda Singh Uberoi, who ran the industry of sporting goods in Sialkot (see Figure 4.58, and Figure 4.59). Further, street mansions with shops and workshops on the ground floor, created new bazaar within the *Kutchery* premises, boosting the market and trade activity of the town. These new business enterprises and residences along the main roads of civil station of Sialkot gave a new character and urban pattern to Sialkot (see Figure 4.60, and Figure 4.61). The architecture of these colonial buildings of Sialkot *Kutchery* is discussed in Chapter 6.

Figure 4.58 Uberoi Mansion, Sialkot Civil Station.[86]

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[85] Chattha, p. 57.

[86] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.59 View of a bungalow-styled house on Kutchery Road, Sialkot Civil Station.[87]

Figure 4.60 Map showing the main roads of Civil Station of Sialkot; Paris Road, Kutchery Road and Jail Road, where new businesses and residences developed during the British times.[88]

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[87] Photograph by Author.

[88] Author's own illustration. Source of Base Map: *Base Map, Sialkot (2011),* (Tehsil Municipal Administration Sialkot), online <http://www.tmasialkot.lgpunjab.org.pk/Maps/BM.pdf>, [accessed on 14 May 2016].

Figure 4.61 View of the junction of main roads; Paris Road and Kutchery Road, in Civil Station of Sialkot, showing the street mansions with shops and workshops on the ground floor and residences on the upper floors.[89]

Emerging New Institutions and their Impact. The emerging new institutions, religious practices, and educational pursuits, also created new life in the town. Churches and cathedrals added to the skyline of the town. These religious institutions also ran medical practices at hospitals and clinics, and the educational services at schools and colleges in Sialkot. These include Station Hospitals at Cantonment, Lady Anderson School, Murray College and the Church of Scotland. These new institutions introduced the town dwellers to the new European medical practises and also to educational system based on English language, which were in sharp contrast to traditional medicinal knowledge based on practices of *Hikmat/Hakim*, and the native educational system based on *madrassah*. In terms of the urban pattern, a new axis was established along the Railway Road from the *Kutchery* to the prestigious new educational institution, Murray College. This extended the boundaries of the town alone its east-west axis, and gave a new direction to the growth of the town (see Figure 4.62, Figure 4.63, Figure 4.64, and Figure 4.65). The colonial architecture of these institutional buildings is discussed in Chapter 6.

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[89] Photograph by Author.

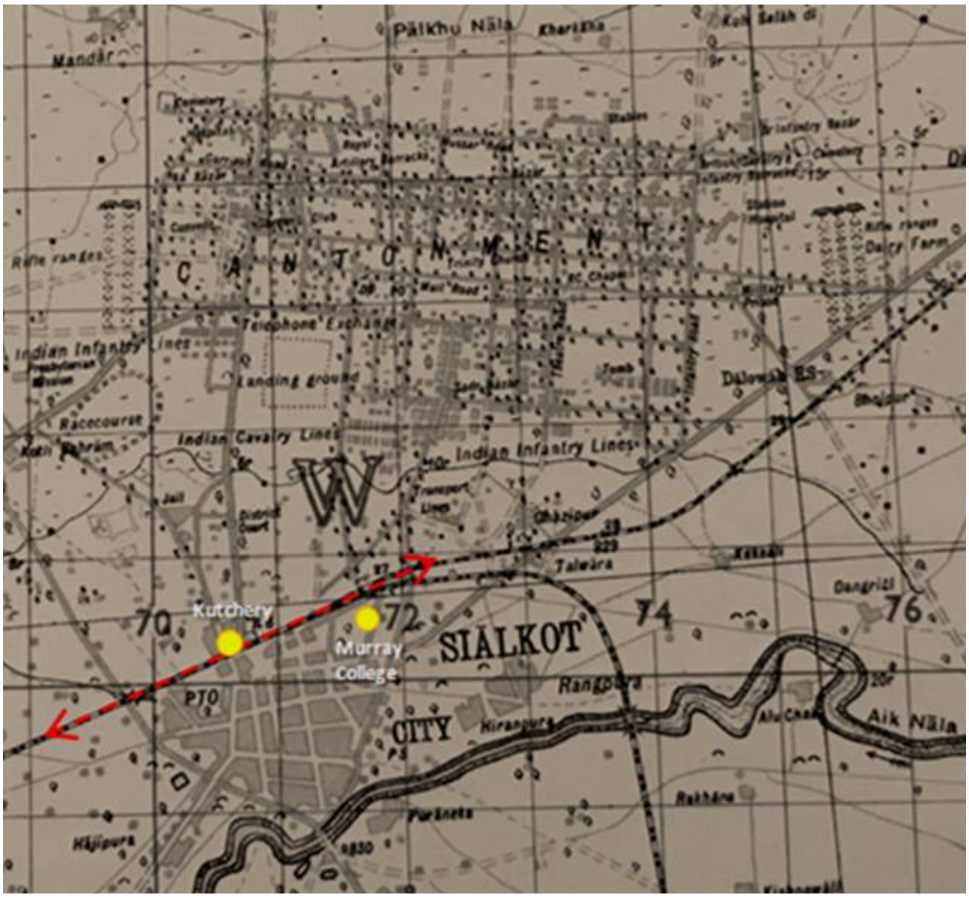

Figure 4.62 Map showing the east-west axis, from Kutchery to Murray College, Sialkot, giving new direction to the growth of town in the post-colonial times.[90]

Figure 4.63 View of the prestigious Murray College, Sialkot, built in 1889.[91]

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[90] Author's own illustration. Source of Base Map: *Sialkot Cantonment and its Surroundings* (1942), accessed at the Map Collections, India Office Record Collections, British Library, London. (Photographed by Author)

[91] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.64 View of Library, at Murray College, Sialkot.[92]

Figure 4.65 Murray Church of Scotland, at the Murray College, Sialkot, built in 1935.[93]

Urban Form and the Economy

Other than the influence of Sialkot Cantonment on the role of the town as a military centre, the presence of Sialkot Cantonment also affected the town's economic activity. This resulted in its emergence as a major industrial centre in the West Punjab, second only to the provincial capital of Lahore. Both these roles of the town are discussed in

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[92] Photograph by Author.

[93] Photograph by Author.

Chapter 3. In this sub-section, the influence of the British rule on the old industries and the new emerging economic activities can be seen to inform impacts on the urban form of Sialkot.

The Paper-making and manufacturing of iron goods were the famous and profitable industries of Sialkot that predated British times. These and other old industries of Sialkot town and its surroundings, however, went through a considerable change during colonial rule. The modern methods of production and opening of new markets and new competition resulted in the decline of these traditional crafts and industries, with adverse effects on the industries of shawl-making and tradition *'garbi Lois'*. By World War I, the number of looms working in Sialkot decreased from 100 to 06. Similar effects were observed on the leather industry and skin trading resulted in the fall of c*hammar* (leather workers) community from more than 17,666 in 1904 to 8,000 in 1911. The traditional industry of paper-making also declined, chiefly due to the supply of 'Jail Paper' made by jail prisoners instead of local artisans residing in the suburban settlements of Sialkot. The use of jail paper was patronised by the colonial government through its usage in vernacular writings and in envelopes for public offices.[94]

During colonial times, although the old profiting industries of Sialkot suffered and declined, many new industries took their place. Most noteworthy were the new industries of sporting goods and surgical instruments. These industrial products were made not only for local consumption but also to be exported all over India and other British colonies in the world. The daily needs of the European population in the new cantonment of Sialkot benefited the local businesses run by the native population in the Sadar Bazaar of the cantonment. Other than that, the demands generated by the sporting activity and surgical practices in the cantonment regiments and hospitals led to the development of new industries in the town. These new industries of sporting goods and surgical equipments influenced not only the economy and trade of the town but also affected its urban form. New workshops of these new trades started emerging along the main roads of the *Kutchery* of Sialkot, and also in the old bazaars of the *mohallas* of the walled town. As a result, old bazaars of the town prospered and new markets also emerged in the new civil station of Sialkot (see Figure 4.60, Figure 4.61, and Figure 4.66).

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[94] Chattha, pp. 51-52.

Figure 4.66 View of the workshop, at Uberoi Cooperating Sports Industry, located on Paris Road, Civil Station Sialkot.[95]

These new industries emerged not only as a result of the new demands of the European population at Sialkot Cantonment, but also majorly due to presence of the skills of local native craftsmen that resided in the old town of Sialkot and its surrounding suburban settlements. Initially, the local artisans, *tarkhans* (woodworkers) and *lohars* (ironsmiths) started producing furniture, sporting goods and surgical equipments to cater the demands of new inhabitants of Sialkot Cantonment. The location of Sialkot District adjacent to the northern region of Jammu and Kashmir States facilitated the development of these new businesses by ensuring the ready supply of wood as a raw material. Soon these home-grown small workshops along the roads of *Kutchery* premises and in the traditional bazaars of the old town succeeded in achieving the modern European standards, and started to cater for not only the local but national and international demands as well. This linked Sialkot to the international trade circuits. The sporting goods of Sialkot, including polo sticks, cricket bats, hockey balls and sticks, footballs, golf clubs, and gymnastic apparatus, were exported to the various parts of the world, including Europe, America, Japan, Australia, and Africa. Near the end of the British rule in India, the export of the sporting goods of Sialkot was increased to Rupees 30,000,000 during the year 1946-47. The export of the surgical instruments was amounted for Rupees 5,000,000 by 1947. By the end of the British rule, in 1947, the average annual export value of Sialkot industrial products accounted for over Rupees

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[95] Photograph by Author.

35,000,000.[96] Sialkot surpassed all the other towns in the region, during the British rule, and emerged as a major centre of industry and trade as a result of these new economic activities, second only to the provincial capital of Lahore in the Punjab. These new economic activity developed mainly in civil station of Sialkot influenced the urban pattern with new street mansions of affluent class of community.

New industries of the British times also offered new employment opportunities in the town that attracted artisans and workers from all over the Punjab. The population of the town increased as a result, and the town became more congested during the British times. Furthermore, the income levels of the native population raised as the economy and trade activity flourished in the town. The emerging businesses and the wealth that came as a result, influenced the built environment of the old town. New street mansions emerged in the old bazaars and *mohallas* (neighbourhoods) of the walled town. These buildings were built mostly in hybrid architectural style that embraced both the traditional and new western forms and elements (see Figure 4.67, and Figure 4.68). The architecture of these street mansions is discussed in Chapter 6.

Figure 4.67 View of the street mansion in Kashmiri Mohalla, walled town of Sialkot.[97]

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[96] Chattha, pp. 46-47.

[97] Photograph by Author.

Figure 4.68 View of the street mansions, Yahya Manzal and Qayyum Villa in Sialkot.[98]

Besides emerging as a major industrial centre, Sialkot, the district headquarter, had also acted as a major market for the agricultural produce of the district (role of colonial towns as major markets in districts is discussed in Chapter 3). Sialkot has a fertile soil, with 80 percent of cultivable land. Alongside the annual rainfall of 30 to 40 inches, this district was considered as one of the most fertile regions of the Punjab. During Mughal times, a system of small inundation canals irrigated the district. With the agricultural colonisation through canals and headworks, like Headworks at Marala in Sialkot District, the agricultural produce of this district increased (discussed in Chapters 2 and 3). The district's main crop was rice. The high production of the rice in this district contributed to a higher activity of trade during the British time. For selling and exporting the surplus crops of the district, Sialkot had a *Kanak Mandi* (Grain Market). The export increased, and in 1894-95, total export of the town was accounted for Rupees 400,000 per annum while the total import was Rupees 1,500,00.[99] These markets at district level were linked to capital cities of the Punjab and sea ports of Karachi and Bombay through colonial network of railways and roads. The district's agricultural produce were exported within and outside the British India, to the Europe and British colonies in particular. Emerging as major market towns, these district headquarters acted as the middle centres of imperial economy and trade between big cities and villages, which affected their urban pattern and growth during the British times.

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[98] Photograph by Author.

[99] Chattha, p.50.

4.4 Conclusion

The British developed old towns of the Punjab to serve as headquarters in canal colony districts of West Punjab. This chapter has explored the types of settlements that were expanded by the British for their own imperial purposes of power and economy. Most often the old settlements were utilised for such purposes. One main type of historical settlements that experienced transformation during the colonial rule was of more consolidated urban character that has been a major urban centre throughout its history. This was observed in the case of Sialkot. Similar to it were the cases of Gujranwala, Gujrat, and Jhang, all of which were walled town of medieval times and had been prominent urban centres at various historical times. The last but not the least was the case of Sheikhupura, which was a scattered settlement of more rural characteristics, unlike the other cases discussed in this chapter.

In the process of expanding these historical settlements, the British employed various ways to influence or add to the urban form of these old towns. While at most of these towns, the urban pattern was mainly influenced by new extensions of *Kutchery*, at some like Sialkot, the new extensions of Cantonment initiated the change. Both these new extensions of *Kutchery* and cantonment were, however, developed outside the fortification of the existing historical settlements. These extended the boundaries and urban outreach of these towns beyond their existing limits as a result. These new extensions were also in sharp contrast to the prevailing traditional lifestyle and urban pattern of walled towns, thus, gave new urban character to these historical towns.

While these new extensions of *Kutchery* and Cantonment were more directly linked to the law and order, indicating the influence of colonial power and governance on the towns' form, the economy and trade generated by increased agricultural production and emerging new industries, too, played a dynamic role in transforming the urban forms of old Punjabi towns. These towns were developed as major market towns in the district. In case of Sialkot, as discussed, the new emerging businesses and industries during the British times, not only increased the national and international trade, but also influenced the town form, establishing this town as a major industrial and trade centre in the region. The discussion in this chapter on wide-spread impacts of the imperial imperatives of power and economy on the development of historical towns of the Punjab as district headquarters during the British times will be continued in next Chapter 5 with regards to the planning of entirely new towns in the West Punjab.

5 . Urban Form of New Towns as District Headquarters

Chapter 5 of Thesis

5.1 Introduction

In the Punjab, the British expanded old towns and laid out new towns during their imperial rule of almost a century. Among these urban settlements, three new towns were planned in the western *doabs* to serve as headquarters in their respective districts. Starting with the brief discussion of certain commonalities and specificities of these three towns: Sargodha, Montgomery and Lyallpur, this chapter will move on to the detailed case study of one of these towns i.e. Lyallpur. These three towns will be discussed and analysed in the light of the political and economic imperatives of the Empire and how these imperial necessities of the new rulers shaped these towns. With the creation of more organised and disciplined space in these new towns than the old towns expanded by the British in the western *doabs* of the Punjab, the chapter sets out to find the answers to certain key questions: Why were these new towns planned as district headquarters in the West Punjab? Was there a link between the strategic (power) and financial (economy) requirements and the planning of these towns, and how did these imperial imperatives influence the planning and designing of these new towns?

In addressing these questions, a range of research methods and materials have been used. The analysis is based on the data collected mainly in the form of graphic images or pictures taken by the author while conducting the fieldwork in these towns. Due to the present security situation in the Punjab (of Pakistan), the permission to take pictures inside the jail premises in these three towns and of cantonment area was not granted, and thus, are not included here. Other than the field surveys in these towns, the archival data including historical maps of these towns, municipal reports, and gazetteers, etc., accessed at British Library London, and the Punjab Archives in Lahore was analysed. The fragmentation of the historical records while researching has been dealt with by analysing the town maps of the present times, i.e. google maps or maps acquired from the websites of *tahsil* municipal administration offices, in cases where the historical town maps are not available. Limitation of the availability of the historical records has also influenced the research method of selecting more than one town for general discussion at the start of the chapter and then going into a detailed analysis of only one town. This method leads to better comprehension of the planning of new towns and their urban forms for the imperial power and economy in the larger regional context of the West Punjab during the British rule.

5.2 Planning of New Towns: Sargodha, Montgomery and Lyallpur

During their rule, the British planned new towns as district headquarters, in addition to the extension of the old Punjabi towns of the West Punjab (expansion of old towns during the British rule is discussed in Chapter 4). In the five main divisions of the West Punjab, namely Rawalpindi, Lahore, Multan, Jullundur and Ambala, three new towns of Sargodha, Montgomery, and Lyallpur, were planned as district headquarters.[1] All these three new towns became the district headquarters of the canal colony districts, and were planned on the virgin grounds of three western *doabs*: Montgomery in Bari Doab, Lyallpur in Rechna Doab, and Sargodha in Jech Doab (see Figure 5.1). Apart from Sargodha which during the British rule was headquarter town of Shahpur District (after independence 1947, the district was renamed as Sargodha District), the other two new towns (Montgomery and Lyallpur) gave the name to the districts in which they were located i.e. Montgomery District (previously Gugera District) and Lyallpur District. While Sargodha in the Shahpur District and Montgomery in the Montgomery District were located in the old existing districts, in case of the third town, Lyallpur, a new district was made with town of Lyallpur as its headquarter.

New planned towns of Sargodha, Montgomery and Lyallpur, not only served as the district headquarters, but also as the new significant middle centres of power and economy between the big cities and small towns and villages of the Punjab (these roles of the district headquarter towns are discussed in Chapter 3). The making and planning of these new towns is analysed in relation with these roles of colonial towns as headquarters, administrative and economic centres at the district level. In reality, these new towns depict the wider spatial experimentation of the British rulers on the virgin grounds of the western *doabs* of the Punjab, transforming the political and economic significance of the region with implications for its everyday life.

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[1] Simla, a hill station, was also another important district headquarter, almost entirely developed by the British.

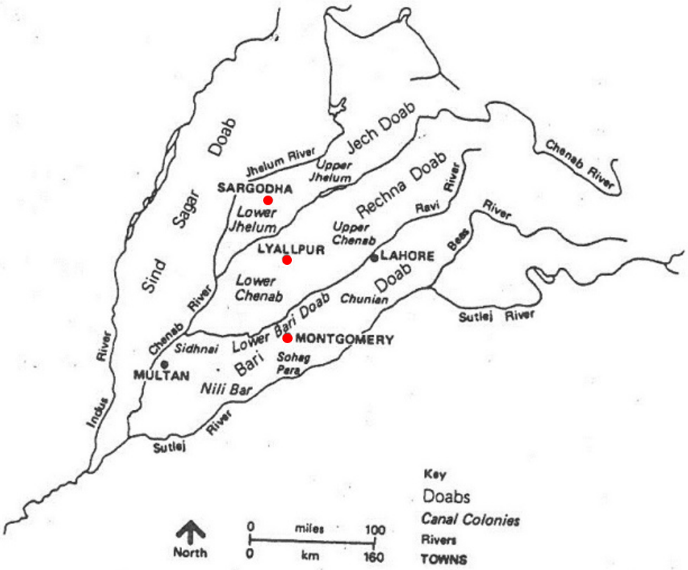

Figure 5.1 Map of the Punjab during British rule, showing three new towns in their respective *doabs*: Montgomery in Bari Doab, Lyallpur in Rechna Doab, and Sargodha in Jech Doab.[2]

The establishment of the new towns, either through extension of old towns with new cantonments and civil stations or by laying out a completely new town or a settlement on virgin or old grounds, was mainly the effort and working of military and civil engineers, together with colonial officers serving in British India at administrative positions. These three towns were no exception to this rule. Montgomery was laid out by Mr. Blyth (Deputy Commissioner of the then Gugera District) in 1865[3] and was named after Sir Robert Montgomery, Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, while Lyallpur was laid out by Captain Popham Young in 1896 and was named after Sir James Broadwood Lyall, Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, and Sargodha was laid out in 1903 by Sir Charles Montgomery Rivaz, Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab. These towns reflected the administration, military and engineering pursuits of the serving civil officers, military officers, and engineers of the Punjab Works Department, than designed or planning ventures.

The paternalistic or conservative and civilizing missions of the empire, and the contempt of the British for the living style of the native Punjabi in old towns with narrow labyrinth streets, influenced the town form and planning of these three new towns laid

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[2] Author's own illustration. Source of Base Map: Imran Ali, *The Punjab under Imperialism, 1885-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.1.

[3] *Gazetteer of the Montgomery District, 1883-84* (Lahore: Arya Press, 1884; Reprinted by Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 2012), p. 178.

out by the serving officers of the British Punjab. These, alongside the concerns of health and hygiene, led to grid-iron layout with wide roads, often neglecting the hot and harsh climatic conditions of the Punjab. This was also the outcome of the British ideology that the "the orderly material world is linked to the moral health of the society"[4]. These new colonial towns, thus, have wide roads, often tree-lined and detached official residences like a bungalow in big land plots with garden (see Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2 View of a wide main road in the town of Montgomery.[5]

The political and strategic imperatives of the Empire to maintain the order, peace and control, influenced not only the grid-iron layout of the towns but also the importance of certain towns more as the military administrative centres in the region. This status of a town as a military administrative centre in reciprocity also influenced the planning of that particular town. At Sargodha, for instance, town form was influenced by the military as well as civil power, with the presence of a Cantonment and an Airport for the Royal Air Force of the British India, together with its *Kutchery* (civil station). Sargodha was developed as the main Air Base of the Royal Air Force, a character and status it maintains throughout its history. Today, Sargodha is serving as the largest Air Base of Pakistan Air Force in the country. This presence of the Royal Air Force in the town along with all its facilities and cantonment, influenced the town form and role of the Sargodha as a major centre of military administrative in the region. The town form of Sargodha exhibit dominant influence of imperial power and governance than the

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[4] William J. Glover, 'Objects, Models, and Exemplary Works: Educating Sentiment in Colonial India', in *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, Pt. 3 (August 2005), 539-566 (pp. 540-541).

[5] Photograph by Author.

economy in comparison to other two towns under study, with the major urban pattern and area defined by Air Base, Cantonment, and *Kutchery* (see Figure 5.3, and Figure 5.4).

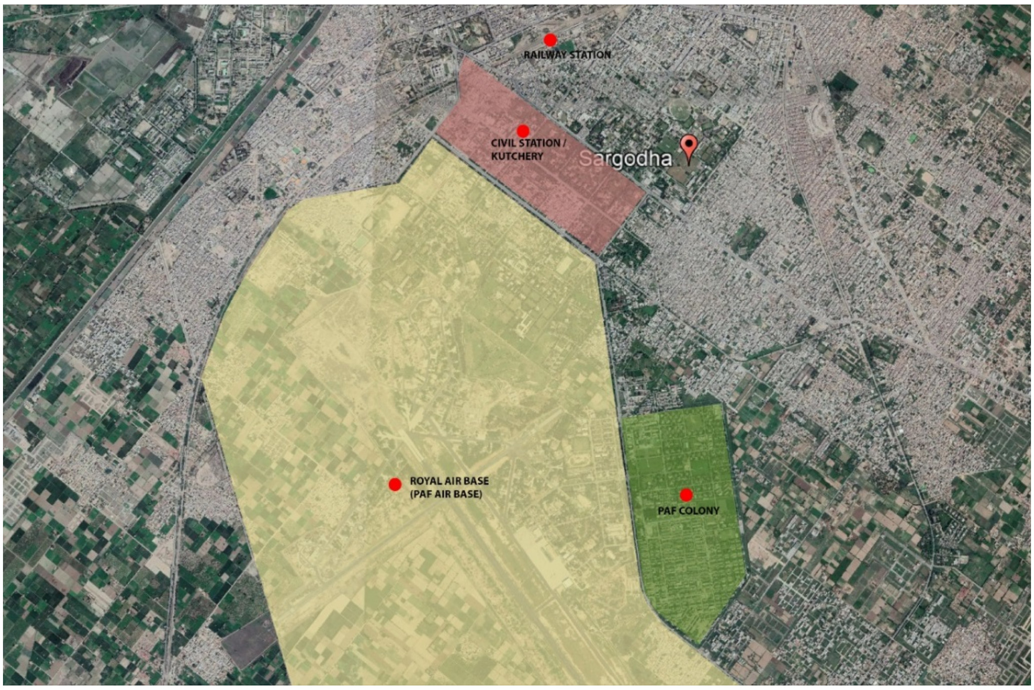

Figure 5.3 Map of town of Sargodha, showing the Royal Air Base, PAF Colony, Civil Station, and Railway Station.[6]

Figure 5.4 Revenue Department building in the Civil Station of Sargodha.[7]

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[6] Author's own illustration. Source of Base Map: *Map of Sargodha*, (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 5 July 2018].

[7] Photograph by Author.

The continuing importance of the strategic reasons and disciplinary conception in influencing the planning of these towns can be seen in the reasons of laying out the new towns. For instance, in case of Sargodha and Montgomery, the new towns were laid out to replace the previously "troublesome" district headquarters of pre-colonial towns of Shahpur and Gugera, famous among the new British rulers for their criminal and notorious inhabitants. Although, there is no official documentation in the archival records that detailed out the main reasons behind the shift of the district headquarter, the gazetteers and other official reports point towards the security issues being one of the major reasons for the shift to the new towns. For instance, Gugera was a notorious place in the eyes of the British rulers and administrators, full of thieves and thugs of local and tribal origins. A new headquarter town of Montgomery was planned mid-way between the Lahore-Multan Railway line as a solution to replace headquarter at old town of Gugera (prominent old towns of this district are discussed in Chapter 1). A large Central Jail was planned for this rather small town, serving not just the town but the entire district. This jail was one of the earliest buildings built in this new town in 1873. Today as well, the Central Jail of Sahiwal (Sahiwal is the present name of Montgomery town) is one of the largest and most sensitive in the Punjab, self-sufficient with its own residential area within its premises. This jail was designed in a circular plan with a central watch tower, following the principles of the Pan-opticon. Developed by the English philosopher and social theorist Jeremy Bentham in the late eighteenth century, the Pan-opticon concept was linked to the rising union of positivism and Benthamite Utalitarianism in British society. This scheme of design ensured constant watch over the prisoners, followed in both the Britain and its colonies, and was described as "paradigm of disciplinary technology" by Foucault.[8] See Figure 5.5, Figure 5.6, and Figure 5.7 for Central Jail in town of Montgomery, built in 1873 following this Pan-opticon conception (the architecture of colonial jails is discussed in Chapter 6).

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[8] Robert Home, *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities* (London: E & FN Spon, 1997), p. 47.

Figure 5.5 Map of Central Jail, Montgomery.[9]

Figure 5.6 Cental Jail, Montgomery, built in 1873.[10]

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[9] *Map of Central Jail, Montgomery*, (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 5 July 2018].

[10] Photograph by Author.

Figure 5.7 DPO residence within the premises of Central Jail, Montgomery.[11]

New towns to serve as district headquarters were mostly towns of a few thousand inhabitants during colonial times, mostly laid in grid-iron pattern with main and secondary roads. Montgomery, for instance, was a small town of only 3,178 people in 1881.[12] Planned in rectangular plots with few wide main roads near the Lower Bari Doab Canal (LBD Canal), primarily for administrative purposes, Montgomery had a modest civil station with its allied facilities, a railway station, and a few residences for European officers serving in this town, and bazars (see Figure 5.8, Figure 5.9, and Figure 5.10). In addition to role of water sources and communication lines and transportation facilities acting as the barrier between the native settlements and European settlement in case of expansion of old Punjabi towns (discussed in detail in Chapter 4), these resources and facilities like canals, railway tracks and railway station, often define the outer edge or extreme limit of the colonial town on its one side during the British rule.

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[11] Photograph by Author.

[12] *Gazetteer of the Montgomery District*, 1884, p. 178.

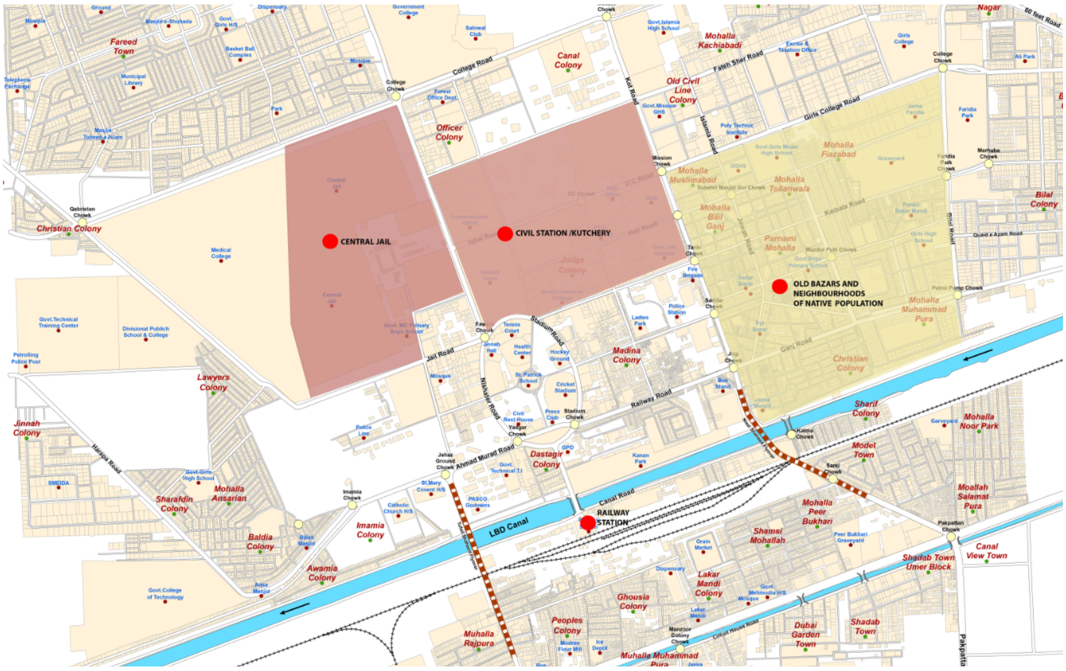

Figure 5.8 Map of the town of Montgomery, showing Central Jail, Civil Station, Railway Station, and its bazars, in its rectangular layout.[13]

Figure 5.9 View of Lower Bari Doab Canal (LBD Canal) from the bridge, at Montgomery.[14]

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[13] Author's own illustration. Source of Base Map: *Base Map, Sahiwal (2011)*, (Tehsil Municipal Administration Sahiwal), online <http://tmasahiwal.lgpunjab.org.pk/larg-images/Base%20Map.pdf>, [accessed on 5 July 2018].

[14] Photograph by Author.

Figure 5.10 View of the crowded bazar street, at Montgomery.[15]

Typically, these new towns share, among their commonalities, the basic facilities and features of a colonial town including a civil station with judicial and revenue administration facilities; civil courts, session houses, DCO offices, District Jail and other accompanying facilities of transportation and communication (Railway Station, Post and Telegraph Offices, and *dak* Bungalow) adjacent or in close proximity to civil station. In case of Montgomery, two bazaars, Blyth-Ganj and Ford-Ganj, however, were also planned in alongside its civil station, officer's residences, and Central Jail, which gradually developed over time (see Figure 5.10).[16] The growing influence of economic activity on the planning of new towns, however, can be observed rather more prominently in the town of Lyallpur, wherein eight bazaars were planned around the central Clock Tower, giving the town its identity as a major market town in the region. The new town of Lyallpur will now be discussed in the next section 5.3 as a case study.

5.3 Lyallpur: An Administrative Effort of Beginning a New Town in Sandal Bar

The District of Lyallpur is located mainly in Sandal Bar, the lower part of Rechna Doab of the West Punjab (see Figure 5.1). Before the advent of canal or agricultural colonisation, the *bars* of the western *doabs*, Sandal Bar in particular, were less cultivated areas, mainly acting as grazing fields for the semi-nomadic tribes (known as *janglis* by the

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[15] Photograph by Author.

[16] *Gazetteer of the Montgomery District*, 1884, p. 178.

British) residing in these uplands of the western *doabs*. These wastelands were claimed by the British as Crown Wastelands in 1885.[17] It was mainly in these vast, uncultivated, sparsely populated wasteland that the largest canal colony of Chenab was established between 1892 and 1906 with later addition during 1926 to 1930 (Chenab Colony is discussed in detail in Chapter 2). Once the land grants were allotted, with the completion of the settling of the population primarily from other districts, this colony became the part of the new established District of Lyallpur. Firstly, Chenab Colony (previous name of Lyallpur) was made a separate *tahsil* in the Jhang District, then Lyallpur was raised to the level of a separate District that ended its administrative connection as a *tahsil* under the Jhang District (making of new districts is discussed in detail in Chapter 3). The resulting new District of Lyallpur was constituted on 1 December 1904, and was named after Sir James Broadwood Lyall, Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab.[18]

The planning of a new town of Lyallpur, founded in 1896, in the Sandal Bar, was mainly an administrative effort of the British officers of the Punjab bureaucracy. Local poets of the area praised the efforts of British administrators in their poems. The translation of the extract from the poem written by a local poet Amjad Saleemi, praising Sir James Broadwood Lyall in the first few lines of his poem is as follows:[19]

Listen passengers! (*sunno musafiro*)
The dust used to rise… (*dhol uthti thi…*)
On four sides/directions, the dust used to rise (*chaaro jaanib dhool uthti thi*)
I was born from the lap of Sandal Bar… (*Sandal Bar ki kokh se' mera janam hova…*)
I had no face, no name or identity (*main bay-chehra, bay-naam-o-nishan tha*)
Sir Lyall gave me his name (*Sir Lyall ne' mujh ko apna naam diya*)
The deserted/devastated people settled me (*ojre' hove' logon ne' mujhe' aabad kiya*)
I was a hot burning barren land… (*main jalta tapta chatyal tha…*)
My veins were watered (*meri sharyaanon ko aab kiya*)
My fields were given greenery (*mere' khaitoon ko haryali di*)
A settlement to be settled was given! (*ik basti basne' wali di!*)

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[17] Fareeha Zafar, 'The Impact of Canal Construction on the Rural Structures of the Punjab: The Canal Colony Districts, 1880 to 1947' (doctoral thesis, University of London, SOAS, 1981), pp. 25-27.

[18] J.D. Penny, *Final Settlement Report of the Jhang and Gugera Branch Circles of the Lyallpur District* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing Punjab, 1925), accessed at General Reference Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. I.S.PU.20/49.(1.), pp. 1-2.

[19] Ishfaque Bokhari, *Lyallpur Kahani: Chenab Club* (Faisalabad: Sangrila Printers and Publishers, 2003), p. 281.

A few lines from a poem written by another famous local poet Maulana Haali, praising Sir James Lyall are translated as:[20]

The blessings that reside in you (*tum main hain jo mojod fazayil*)
They are not dependent on any proofs (*wo nahi kuch mohtaaj dalayil*)
All people are convinced of his heart (*log sab in k dil se' hain kaayil*)
O Sir Lyall, O Sir Lyall
Till the city will remain intact (*jab tak shaiher abaad rahe' ga*)
Your name will be remembered (*naam tumhara yaad rahe' ga*)

Captain Popham Young, is believed to be the main thinker and planner behind the design of this town. He was said to have dreamt about a new town at the place of Paccamari, on his way from Jhang to Lahore. Paccamari was the most ancient mound of civilization in the Sandal Bar. Sial tribe used to rule over the District of Jhang, and the Raju-a-Sayedon were the rulers from Chiniot to Paccamari. Paccamari is located about 20 to 21 miles on the north-east of the current place of the town of Lyallpur (see no. 19 in Figure 5.11). Captain Popham Young was the colonial officer in the *bar* region during the settlement of Chenab Colony, and also later became the Deputy Commissioner of Jhang District. Local poets also praised the efforts of Captain (later Lieutenant-Colonel) Popham Young. A renowned Punjabi poet of the Sandal Bar, Kana, has written a long poem appreciating the Captain Popham Young's efforts, the last stanza of this poem translates as follows:[21]

Young, this ruler is a correct one (*Young sahib ae' hakim theek aa*)
He drew the map of Lyallpur (*Lyallpur da naksha likya*)
First he spends his own money (*pehle' paisa aapoon wataye'*)
Then he fills the treasury (*fair khazane' bhare' ameeq aa*)
He auctions official land (*nilaam kare' sarkari ja*)
Young has settled a country (*Young sahib diya mulk wasa*)

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[20] ibid, p. 60.

[21] ibid, p. 78, 192, 80-82.

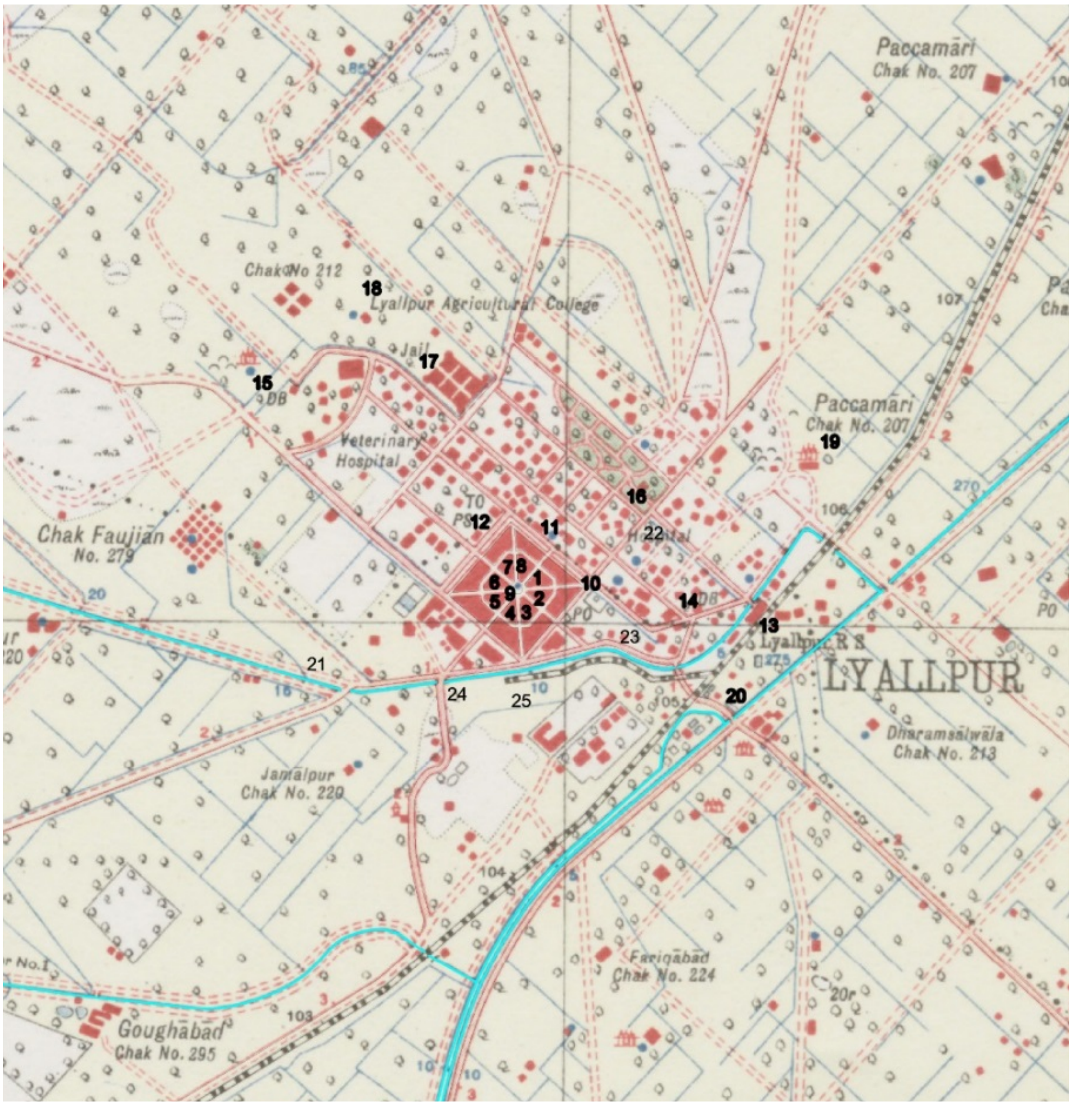

Figure 5.11 Map of Lyallpur District, showing the new town of Lyallpur.[22]

1. Rail Bazar
2. Karkhana Bazar
3. Montgomery Bazar
4. Jhang Bazar
5. Bhawana Bazar
6. Aminpur Bazar
7. Chiniot Bazar
8. Katchery Bazar
9. Ghanta Ghar / Clock Tower
10. Ghumbdi and Qaiseri Gate
11. Zilla Kutchery / Civil Station
12. Police Station
13. Railway Station
14. dak Bungalow (Canal Irrigation Department)
15. dak Bungalow (Agricultural Department)
16. Chenab Club and Company Bagh
17. District Jail
18. Punjab / Lyallpur Agricultural College
19. Paccamari, Chak no. 207
20. Rajbah Canal (Major), Rakh Branch
21. Rajbah Canal (Minor), Rakh Branch
22. St. Paul Church
23. Saints Peter and Paul Cathedral
24. Saitla Mandir
25. Railway Workshop

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[22] Author's own illustration. Source of Base Map: *Map of Lyallpur District, (1910-11)*, accessed, ordered and acquired from the India Office Record and Map Collections, British Library, London, bookshelf no. ior_x_14202_44e_3_1912_002.

The administrative officers working in the region also took the credit for initiating the written historical record of the region of Sandal Bar and Lyallpur District, supported by the British deputy commissioners posted in the region. The Gazetteers written during the British rule were the first yet serious and organised effort to write the history of the Sandal Bar. The first gazetteer was titled Chenab Colony, the first initial name of Lyallpur. During the post-colonial times, one significant attempt by locals, providing a non-official narrative, was of a local poet Ahmed Ghazali (1987) who relied on the folklore traditions, stories and songs to draw his narrative of the Sandal Bar.[23] Instead of a history, the purpose of his book is to bring into light various aspects of the local culture and traditions through the folklores, and the important personalities of this region, including saints and poets like Baba Guru Nanak, Hazrat Sultan Baho, Syed Waris Shah, and the political struggles of people like Dala Bhatti (who was against Mughal Kingdom), Bakht Khan, Rai Ahmed Kharal, and Murad Fatniyana (who fought against the British), through their poetry, dance, stories, and languages.

A recent book 'Lyallpur Kahani: Chenab Club', written by a local writer, Ishfaque Bukhari (2003) is the major book consulted, and was useful in attaining the understanding of the town and its lifestyle during the British times, while conducting the research.[24] Centring the narrative on the visit of the English political theorists and Fabian scholars, Sidney Webb and his wife Beatrice Webb, to the town of Lyallpur in 1912 (before independence 1947), this book, however, overtly and explicitly praises the British rulers and administrators. Bokhari appreciated the British rulers and administrators for making this town, and keeping it clean, disciplined and peaceful with the provision of modern facilities of railway and roads, its monuments like Clock Tower, several bazars and memorable green spaces like Company *Bagh* (park) and Chenab Club. He further views the construction of the canal system at Sandal Bar as the heroic efforts of the British rulers, with canals like the jaws of a lion, that have tamed the turbulent rivers of the Punjab. He depicts the town of Lyallpur as the peaceful, beautiful, green, and grain town during the British Raj and in the early era after independence 1947. He opines that this town, like a toy, was small but a neat and clean with its wide roads and streets, familiar people, and gardens. This town was given the title of 'the clean city' during the reign of Edward VII (1841-1910). Praising the British colonial period

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[23] Ahmad Ghazali, *Sandal Bar: Vasti Panjab ki Kahani, Lok Rivayat ki Zabani* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1987)

[24] Ishfaque Bokhari, *Lyallpur Kahani: Chenab Club* (Faisalabad: Sangrila Printers and Publishers, 2003)

and mourning the present post-colonial times, he describes the town of the British period as a town abundant in *Shisham* (Rosewood) trees that were lost with the growth and urban sprawl of the town in the later decades of the twenty-first century. Narrating his days of early childhood and youth in this town, he laments the loss of prior identity of his hometown further with the change of the town's name to Faislabad (name given to it after the Saudi King Faisal's visit to Pakistan on 1 September, 1997).

5.3.1 Planning of Lyallpur

Lyallpur was planned as a new town for the Chenab Colony in the Sandal Bar of the Rechna Doab. It was laid out along the south western side of the North Western railway line, Wazirabad–Khanewal Section, and the Main Rajbah Canal of Rakh Branch of Chenab Colony, near an old mound of Paccamari (see no. 19, no. 20 and 21 in Figure 5.11). The administrative and engineering pursuits took the central stage in the planning of this town. The system of land division into measureable squares became the basis of the layout of this town.[25] This system was developed for the better extraction of revenue with more accurate measurement and representation of land features in maps, pioneered by Captain Popham Young (see Figure 5.12).[26] This division of land into squares following Killabandi System is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

All the agricultural land around the Lyallpur town was also divided into these measureable squares, and were numbered (see Figure 5.11). The *chaks* developed in these squares were named with the number of the square (discussed in Chapter 3). Within the town of Lyallpur, the main division of land into squares determined the main layout of the town, its road and street pattern, land plots and their sizes, and hence the urban fabric of the town, and continue to influence the growth of the town along these lines over the course of the town's history (see Figure 5.16).

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[25] Salim Alimuddin, Arif Hasan, and Asiya Sadiq, *The Work of the Anjuman Samaji Behbood and the larger Faisalabad Context*, (December 1999), online <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/drivers_urb_change/urb_infrastructure/pdf_public_private_services/W_IIED_Hasan_Community_Anjuman.pdf>, [accessed on 7 July 2018], p. 1.

[26] B.H. Dobson, *Final Report of the Chenab Colony Settlement* (Lahore: The Superintendent Government Printing, Punjab, 1915), accessed at India Office Record Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. W 1382, pp. 105-106.

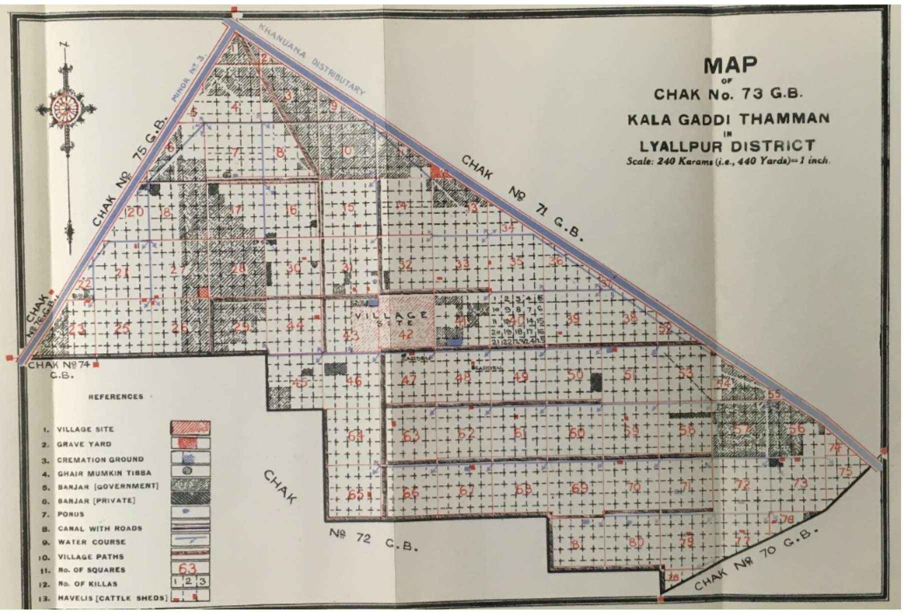

Figure 5.12 Map of a *chak* in Lyallpur District, showing land division into measureable squares.[27]

5.3.2 Town Form: A Manifestation of Imperial Power and Economy

The new town of Lyallpur was laid out with several bazaars and was mainly developed as a *mandi* or a market town with an administrative facilities for acting as a headquarter town of the new district, serving as a middle centre of imperial power and economy between big cities and villages at the district level (discussed in Chapter 3). Though an administrative effort, this town was laid out with the desire among the officials to establish an exemplary market town and a district headquarter. Lyallpur depicted the order and discipline, political and economic control and efficiency, and new lifestyle of the new rulers, in its unique planning with its bazar square and clock tower, rectangular urban pattern with its wide roads, bungalow-styled residences planned in rectangular blocks of land, civil core of executive, revenue and judicial administration, police lines and jail, transportation and communication facilities, and Chenab Club for its officers. In addition, the town also housed the Agricultural College with its own experimental farms developed for agricultural research and education in the region.

The eight bazaars of the town with clock tower in the central position of the town adjacent to the town's civil station, depicted the equating significance of the rising

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[27] J. W. Thomas, ed., *An Economic Survey of Kala Gaddi Thamman (Chak 73 GB), A Village in the Lyallpur District of the Punjab* (Punjab: Board of Economic Inquiry conducted by Randhir Singh under the Supervision of W. Roberts, 1932), accessed at Indian Office Record Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. V 6237. (Photographed by Author)

economic imperatives of the British rulers. At the same time, however, the rising importance of commerce and trade was depicted in the form of this town as the representation of the British world in the Punjab landscape. This can be studied in the plan of the town, wherein the bazaar square is laid out like a Britain's Union Jack Flag, contributing to the unique identity of this town in the whole region. This flag of Great Britain was made up of three crosses of Saint George, Andrew and Patrick, representing England, Scotland, and Ireland. The eight bazars of Lyallpur are depicted around the central Clock Tower, while the Ghumbdi located at the upper end of the Rail Bazar represents the top of the flag's stand and the Circular Road of the town emerges from it as a flag's stand (see Figure 5.13).

Figure 5.13 Map of Bazaar Square of Lyallpur, showing the bazaars forming the union jack flag in plan, circular road as its stand with Ghumbdti indicating the top of flag's stand.[28]

5.3.3 Rising Importance of Economy: A Market Town Providing for Both the Agriculture and New Industry

Unlike other headquarter towns of canal colonies, this new town of Lyallpur was laid out as an exemplary market town for collection and distribution of the districts' produce and onward despatching of the production for export within and outside British India

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[28] Author's own illustration. Source of Base Map: *Map of Lyallpur*, (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 5 July 2018].

through new networks of railways and roads. The major cash crops of this district were cotton and wheat. With the development of new systems of canals and railways, the crops produced in the *bar* and their demand had been increased in the outer world. The fields on the south eastern side of the Railway Station of Lyallpur had the warehouses for the storage of wheat. From here, the wheat of the Sandal Bar was transported to the coastal city of Karachi via the Wazirabad-Khanewal Railway line in the cargo trains. From there, the wheat was exported to the Great Britain via marine ships. A small amount of this wheat was also transported to Lahore via road. One fourth of the Bar's cotton was also transported to Lahore via Jaranwala. Along the banks of the River Ravi, at Shahdara, near Lahore City, in the weaving machines of Mela Ram, a rough cotton cloth was made out of this cotton. For the same reasons, this cotton of the Lyallpur District was also transported to different towns of the Punjab including Kasur, and Amritsar. The cotton was also exported to Japan and to other parts of the world via the Port of Bombay. Though the Port of Karachi was nearby, the price was better at Bombay. There was not much demand for the cotton of Lyallpur in the factories of Lancashire, Derby and Manchester because its threads were not long enough, but there was much demand of it in Italy, wherein the oil was extracted out of it.[29] The corn, barley, and other grains were also sent to the Britain when their prices had dropped, for making beer out of them.

Industry started emerging out of the successful agricultural production of this district in the decade of 1930s. The industries of this town and district were mainly related to the cotton cloth and cotton oil trade. The first larger industrial unit of Lyallpur Cotton Mills was completed in 1934. Further, three more units were established in the same decade. By the end of imperial rule in 1947, Lyallpur had twenty big and small industrial units.[30] This industry was further developed, promoted and enhanced during the post-independence times, making this town one of the major industrial centres of Pakistan. During the colonial times, big industrialists were mostly Hindus that preferred to live in big mansions or farmhouses in the vicinity of their factories, instead of the bazars of the town. However, these Hindu industrialists had to leave and migrate to India during the riots of partition 1947. A few industrial units were also owned by the Muslims. These industrialists were the suppliers of raw material to the Britain, and in return, they were content to receive protection from the British officials against the local tribal

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[29] Bokhari, pp. 133-134.

[30] Alimuddin, Hasan, Sadiq, pp. 2, 14.

groups, *janglis*. These indigenous tribes were often accused of theft, robbery and other such crimes in this district.

The industrial units were located in the southern side of the Bazaar Square between the smaller canal along Rajbah Road and larger canal of Rakh Branch running along the other south-eastern edge of the town. This factory area was adjacent to the Railway Workshops, and on the outer corner of the Karkhana Bazar, Montgomery Bazar, and Jhang Bazar. This area became the industrial hub or Factory area, and developed as the down town of Lyallpur (see Figure 5.14).

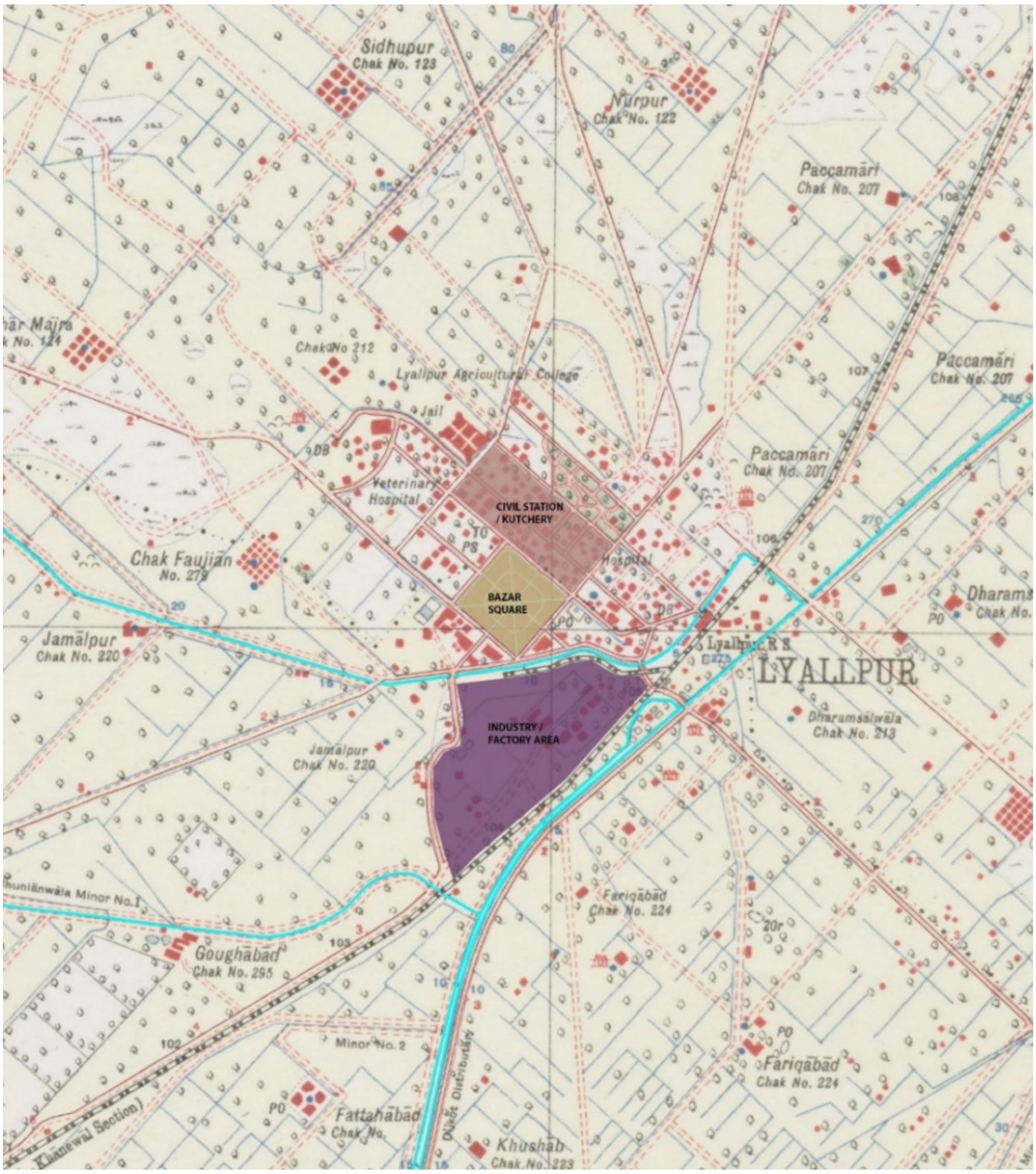

Figure 5.14 Map of Lyallpur, showing main areas of Civil Station, Bazaar Square, Factory Area.[31]

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[31] Author's own illustration. Source of Base Map: *Map of Lyallpur District, (1910-11)*, accessed, ordered and acquired from the India Office Record and Map Collections, British Library, London, bookshelf no. ior_x_14202_44e_3_1912_002.

The town of Lyallpur was made to fulfil the purpose of collection and acquiring an abundance amount of cash crops (most prominent were cotton and wheat) and other crops. It was indeed the part of this bigger project of crop production and collection in which about 28.1 million acres of land was made cultivatable through canal irrigation in the whole of India, out of which 10.5 million acres of land was located in the Punjab (agricultural colonisation is discussed in Chapters 2 and 3). For the farmers of the Punjab, seeds of high quality were provided. Institutions like Punjab Agricultural College, with its own experimental farms and laboratory, were established in town of Lyallpur for agricultural research and education. For the health of animals, veterinary hospitals were established. There used to be a festival for buying and selling cattle and animals in the Sandal Bar every year between 16 and 21 March. Initially, this festive was held at the old town of Shahkot, however, after the establishment of Lyallpur as the district headquarters, this festival was arranged in the fields of this town. To promote forest, there were separate departments established. For selling of the crops, grain markets were established, together with the making of metalled and un-metalled roads for easy transportation of crops in the district. For the betterment of farmers, the forgiveness of monetary loans and the provision of financial loans through co-operative society and other administrative schemes were started. A Royal Commission was established for agriculture. Farmers used to come to town of Lyallpur to sell their crops in its grain markets. The rich farmers used to stay in the *sarai* (inn) of the Lyallpur town during this time which was built near the canal in a beautiful garden, having about 200 rooms with verandas on its three sides. The people and farmers coming from the other towns of district including Chiniot, Satyana, Jaranwala, Abbaspur, Gojra, Dijkot, Barala, and Samundari, used to stay in the fields between small and big canals, in front of Saitla Mandir (see no. 24 in Figure 5.11).[32] Besides, the town was planned with eight speciality bazars at the prime location, giving the town its unique identity in the region as a market town with bazaar square and clock tower.

5.3.4 Description and Analysis of Lyallpur Town

The new town of Lyallpur, laid out in 1896, took shape quickly and within the next couple of decades, all the major colonial structures were already built completely including its civil station, railway station, eight bazars, Clock Tower (built in 1905), Agricultural College (established in 1908), and Chenab Club (inaugurated in 1910). All

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[32] Bokhari, pp. 220-221.

these prominent colonial structures and facilities were located in close proximity, giving the town a feel of a walking-friendly town with its spread from Railway Station on one end to the Agricultural College on the other (see Figure 5.11). Besides, during the British times, Lyallpur was known as a small yet green and clean town. It was well supplied with water and drainage system, garbage and street cleaning system, gardens and parks, grain storage and markets, and also a well-equipped civil station with its allied facilities of police line and railway station.

Limits of the New Town and its Population

Lyallpur was a small town, laid out within a reachable walking limits. It was spread in an area of about 975 acres around the town's famous Clock Tower (*Ghanta Ghar*). The new town limits has the Railway Station at its one end and the Lyallpur Agricultural College (established in 1908) at its other extreme end, all located on the west of the Main Rakh Branch, the Rajbah Canal, and the newly laid out Railway tracks of Wazirabad-Khanewal line of North Western Railways. The main road connecting these two extreme ends of the town was a wide tree-lined avenue, the Mall Road, described as a *thandi* (cool) road in the local language. During the British times, the town was mainly spread on the left side of the Mall Road and comprised of the main areas of the new town. The right (eastern) side of the Mall Road mainly had less populated areas, including a Polo Ground (the current Civil Hospital), Raymond Deepo (the current Polo Club) and its surrounding fields and greenery. The Mall Road starting from in front of Railway Station, bifurcates into two branches on reaching in front of Chenab Club, at the junction with Circular Road: one branch of the Mall Road starts from Company Bagh (Qaiseri Bagh) to limits of Agricultural College, called the Club Road, and the other side has few residences, with grass and tree fields that runs away into the horizon (see Figure 5.16).

The population of the town of Lyallpur, in 1911, was around 19,008.[33] The majority consisted of natives, while only a few British officials were residing in Lyallpur for mainly town and district administration. This included Deputy Commissioner Officer (DCO), District Police Officer (DPO), Civil Surgeon, District Judge, engineers and officials of Canal Irrigation, Public Works, and Railway Department – in other words, bureaucrats required to administer various aspects of the headquarter town. Before independence in 1947, the population of this town grew to 69,930 in 1941. The last census 2017, recorded the population of 3,238,841 in Faislabad City Tehsil and

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[33] Alimmudin, Hasan, and Sadiq. p. 2.

1,465,411 in Faisalabad Sadar Tehsil, making it the third most populated city of Pakistan.[34] While the town developed during the British times still forms the core of this city, the urban sprawl of Faisalabad, today, has spread well beyond its original colonial town (see Figure 5.15).

Figure 5.15 Map of Faislabad showing the town limits during the colonial times and its spread beyond those limits in present times.[35]

Originally, in settling up this new Chenab Colony, the colonial policy favoured and preferred to populate this new town with people who came from other parts of the province. Instead of the local tribal natives, *janglis*, of the Sandal Bar, the new town was occupied by people from the eastern, northern and southern districts of the Punjab. The consideration of the people of these districts as better agriculturalist, in opinion of the British administrators, and the British policy of de-stressing the over-crowded Punjabi districts, led to such a preference. These incoming new migrants had their own distinct Punjabi accents and local cultures, giving a mixed and unique identity to this new town. The local tribal people of the *bar* were not given the land allocation in the beginning, it was only later under compulsion that the land was allotted to the local tribes, and in that

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[34] *District and Tehsil Level Population Summary with Region Breakup*, (Population Census 2017, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics), online <http://www.pbscensus.gov.pk/sites/default/files/bwpsr/punjab/FAISLABAD_SUMMARY.pdf>, [accessed on 19 September 2018].

[35] Author's own illustration. Source of Base Map: *Map of Lyallpur*, (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 5 July 2018].

too elite tribal men were preferred over the ordinary (Chenab Colony is discussed in detail in Chapter 2).

Street Pattern, Neighbourhoods, and Squares

Following the division of the land into measureable squares, the streets and main roads of the new town of Lyallpur were laid out on top covering squares from 1 to 125 (see Figure 5.16). The majority of the roads and streets followed the main lines of these squares, only exception is the Rajbah Road that followed the canal existing beyond the bazaar square with clock tower (see Figure 5.12).

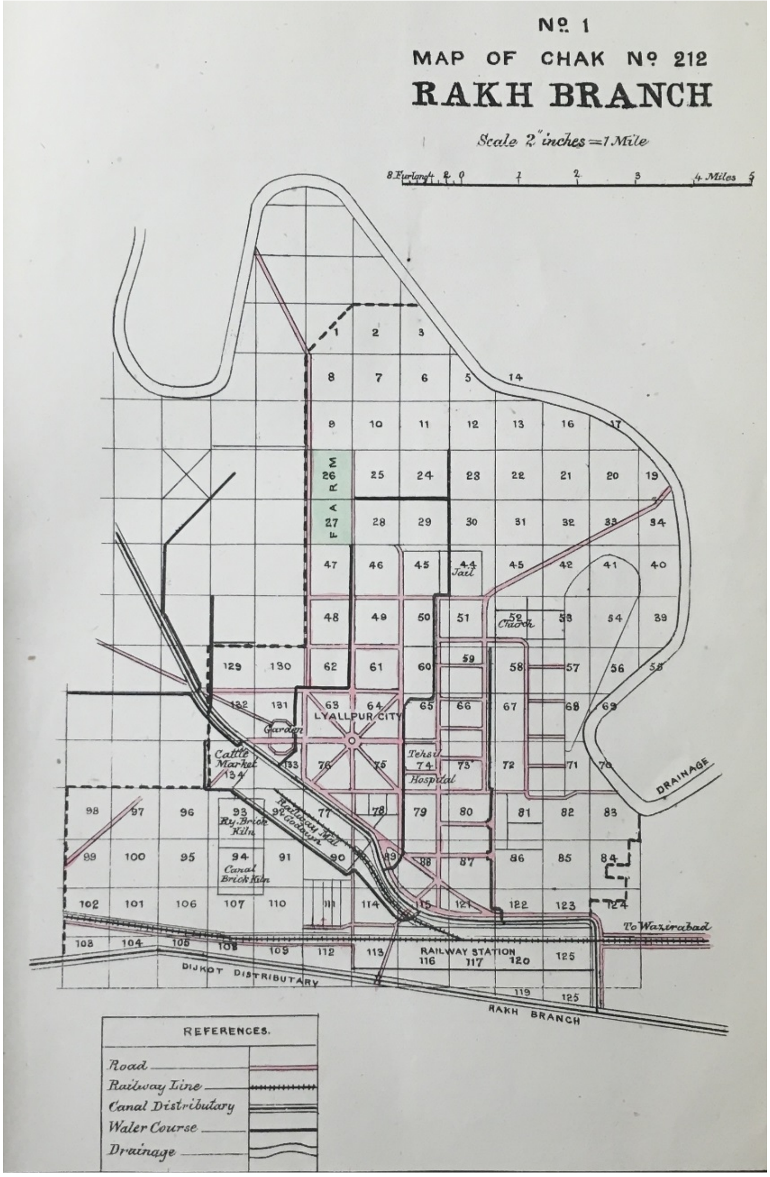

Figure 5.16 Map of town of Lyallpur, showing the division of its land in numbered squares.[36]

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[36] Abdul Rahman Khan. *Annual Report of the Experimental Farm, Lyallpur, for the Kharif and Rabi Seasons 1901-02* (Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1902), accessed at General Reference Collection, British Library, London, bookshelf no. I.S.PU.54. (Photographed by Author)

The main roads of these bazaars were wide and tree-lined. The town's famous roads include Circular Road, the Mall Road, Railway Road, Jail Road, Club Road, MA Jinnah Road, Rajbah Road, and Regal Road (see Figure 5.17). The wide, tree-lined Circular Road from Jail Road on one end to Railway Road on the other is the main artery of the town. Housing the town's civil station with all its facilities, this road occupied the central location in the town. It was the primary connection between the extreme ends of the town from Lyallpur Agricultural College to Railway Station on the other. It also provided major links with the famous bazaars of the town, with three direct approaches and views from Katchery Bazaar, Chiniot Bazaar and Rail Bazaar. Mostly straight, this road, however, bends at an angle after the Ghumbdi Chowk from in front of Catholic Church of Saints Peter and Paul towards the Railway Station, forming the Railway Road. There used to be a Jain Mandir, a *baoli* (step well) and a *shamshan ghat* (where the Hindu used to cremate the dead) too nearby on the junction of this road with the Rajbah Canal.[37] Other *gallis* (streets) include Bhora Galli, Mandir Galli, Galli Jamiya Masjid, Choriyan Waliyaan Galli, Bansoon Wali Galli, Wakiloon Wali Galli, Congress Galli, Jhanday Wali Galli, Tawaifoon Wali Galli, and Pari Galli. Famous *chowk* (road-junctions) include Ghumbdi Chowk, Kutchery Chowk, and Station Chowk.

The famous *mohallas* (neighbourhoods) where the locals lived include Douglaspura, Anarkali, Santpura, and Munshi Mohalla. Old Munshi Mohalla was the red light or prostitute area of the town, known as "*Bazar-e-Husn*" in the local language. The women of this bazar were of various races and religions who had come from different cities including Delhi, Lahore, Amritsar, Patiala, Ambala, Calcutta, and Bihar. The *Bazar-e-Husn* was mainly serving the local community and the women of this bazar were mostly poor and needy women of the society. Unlike the similar neighbourhoods of Delhi, Lucknow, Oudh, and Faizabad, this was more like a narrow street with residences on one side and a wide garden on the other. One of the reason was that in other historical towns, these bazars were flourishing under the patronage of age-old kingship and landownership. In this new town of Lyallpur, however, this bazar too was in its preliminary stage during the British times.

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[37] Bokhari, pp. 241-242.

Figure 5.17 Map of Lyallpur, showing the main roads in yellow lines.[38]

On the junction of Circular Road, Railway Road, Government College Road, and Rail Bazar Road outside the Rail Bazar's entrance from the Circular Road was a *chowk* marked by a structure called Ghumbdi (see no. 10 in Figure 5.11, and Figure 5.18). Ghumbdi derives its name because of its round shape, wherein *Ghumbd* in the local language means dome. This round structure in the plan of the town had a symbolic significance as a *lattoo* (spare-blade) attached at the top of the flag stand of union-jack formed by eight bazars tying them all together (see Figure 5.19). This structure houses the main water supply reservoir of the town beneath its surface. Its architecture is discussed in Chapter 6.

Figure 5.18 View of Ghumbdi Chowk, Lyallpur.[39]

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[38] *Map of Lyallpur*, (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 5 July 2018].

[39] Photograph by Author.

Figure 5.19 Ghumbdi, Lyallpur.[40]

In front of this Ghumbdi, at the entrance of the Rail Bazar was the Qaiseri Gate (see no. 10 in Figure 5.11). It was named after the title of Queen Victoria as the Qaiser-e-Hind, the empress of India. This gate was built in 1897 as a memorial to Queen Victoria, by a local, Lala Mohan Lal (son of Doctor Bahaduri Lal), and was a symbol of town's tribute and gratitude to the British officials and the Queen or Empress of India (see Figure 5.20). Its architecture is discussed in Chapter 6.

Figure 5.20 View of Qaiseri Gate, at the entrance of Rail Bazar and at Ghumbdi Chowk, Lyallpur.[41]

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[40] Photograph by Author.

[41] Photograph by Author.

There were residences of the senior officials of the Canal Irrigation Department in the vicinity of Canal *dak* Bungalow in front of the Railway Stations. These residences were located from the Railway Station to the Canal, and were built in English bungalow style with high-roofed rooms and ventilators for light and air. The roofs were made up of heavy, thick, and strong wooden planks, with the ceiling fans hanging from them by steel hooks. The residences of the senior officials of the Railway starts from where the residences of the officials of the Canal Irrigation Department ends. Their bungalows faced the railway line and the nearby flowing canal.

Civil Station and Administration

Located on one side of the Circular Road, the town's Civil Station is laid out on rectangular land plots in between Bazar Square and green grounds of the Chenab Club, covering the main roads including Circular Road, M.A. Jinnah Road, Club Road and Kutchery Road (see Figure 5.14, and no. 11 in Figure 5.11). This whole area in between Circular Road (East-West axis) to Jail Road and from Circular Road (North-South Axis) to Club Road includes not only the district courts, session house, district administration offices, district council, DCO Office, DPO Office, Police Station, but also the bungalows of the European officials. The official residences including that of DCO and DPO were laid out in spacious land plots (of 6 to 8 acres each) with gardens around, in a bungalow styled house evolved from the Indian Bengali residential unit.[42] These large land plots of official residences are further sub-divided in present times to accommodate more facilities of and around the *Kutchery*.

Today, Civil Station is congested space with new buildings built in recent years, catering to increasing population of this town. During the early British times, however, this area was full of shaded trees, recalls Bokhari. The Deputy Commissioner used to sit in the current senior civil judge's buildings and the current Deputy Commissioner's Office used to be the Office of the District Board.[43] This civil station also boasts a public library, Coronation Library (see Figure 5.21). Across the road in front of this library is the District Council Office (see Figure 5.22). The architecture of the *Kutchery* buildings is discussed in detail in Chapter 6 (also see Figure 5.23, and Figure 5.24).

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[42] Swati Chattopadhay. "The Other Face of Primitive Accumulation: The Garden House in British Colonial Bengal" in Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash, eds., *Colonial Modernities: Building, dwelling and architecture in British India and Ceylon* (New York: Routledge, 2007), p.174.

[43] Bokhari, pp. 158, 220-222.

Figure 5.21 Coronation Library, Lyallpur.[44]

Figure 5.22 Zilla District Council, Lyallpur.[45]

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[44] Photograph by Author.

[45] Photograph by Author.

Figure 5.23 View of District Courts, Lyallpur, from Circular Road.[46]

Figure 5.24 Session House, Lyallpur.[47]

The Kutchery of Lyallpur was laid out in central position along the main artery of the town, Circular Road, that connected two extreme ends of the town during the British times. This made the civil station approachable from all directions of the town by both the Europeans and natives. Further, the Circular Road was well connected to district main roads, to Sargodha Road from its North-South axis and to Jhang Road from its East-West axis via Rajbah Road, which ensured the easy access of Civil Station for the people visiting from all over the district.

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[46] Photograph by Author.

[47] Photograph by Author.

Communication and Transportation Networks and Facilities

The British rule in the Punjab brought with it new ways of connection, transportation and communication in this region. These new ways were visible in the form of railway lines, railway stations, metalled and unmetalled roads, canals, post offices, and *dak* Bungalows, in the landscape of the Punjab. These influenced the connectivity within the town, and between different towns and districts of the Punjab. These infrastructural facilities also became the symbol and the manifestation of the power and economy of the emerging British Empire in India, influencing its landscape and people's lifestyle. These physical tangible structures in landscape of India were also used by the sympathizers of the empire in particular to pinpoint to the material advantages of the British Raj in India.[48] This impact of infrastructure on regional and district level is discussed in Chapter 3.

Railway. The new rail lines when laid out brought this town in direct and rapid connection with the region's divisional and district headquarters and other important market towns. The work to connect Lyallpur with the divisional headquarter of Multan via Shorkot and Jhang began as early as in 1896, the same year in which this town was laid out. Ultimately, this new town was well connected to the major, big, and headquarter towns of Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi, Jhang, Montgomery, Sargodha, and other important market towns in the region, including Chiniot, Waziarabad, Shorkot, Toba Tek Singh, and onwards to the Port of Karachi through a network of rail roads by 1910.

Along with its two platforms transporting the people and goods, the Railway Station had warehouses (indoor and outdoor) within and adjacent to its premises for the storage of the town's and district's agricultural and industrial produce. Performing as efficient machinery of the British Raj, the Railway Station acted as a symbol, both physical and tangible, of imperial power and economy by imparting control and order over the distribution of district's production and people through its various facilities (see Figure 5.25, and Figure 5.26). The Railway Station also reflected the significance of time and discipline imposed on the indigenous societies by the new rulers of the British Punjab, through its timely schedule of trains and organised division of space, separate for natives and Europeans. The rail lines converge to the Railway Station of Lyallpur located at one end of the town (see no.13 in Figure 5.11). The Railway Station with its

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[48] Muhammad Abrar Ahmad, and Muhammad Iqbal Chawla, 'History and Development of Lyallpur, 1890-1947', in *Journal of Research Society of Pakistan* 54, Pt. 1, (Jan-Jun 2017), 98-115 (pp. 98-99).

railway tracks defined the outer limit or boundary of the town on its north-eastern sides during the colonial times, a feature that it shares with other towns of Montgomery and Sargodha wherein the Railway Station and its railway tracks defined one edge of the town. In the present post-colonial times, however, the town of Lyallpur has spread across the railway station, bringing the station almost in the central position and thus distinguishing the two parts of the present town. The architecture of Railway Station of Lyallpur is discussed in Chapter 6.

Figure 5.25 View of rail tracks, station platforms, and surrounding of Railway Station, Lyallpur.[49]

Figure 5.26 View of Main Entrance of Railway Station Building, Lyallpur.[50]

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[49] Photograph by Author.

[50] Photograph by Author.

Dak Bungalow. Different government departments have their own rest houses in this town, called *dak* bungalows. All these rest houses were to protect the guests from the hot summer sun of the *bar* region. The rest house of the Department of Agriculture, located in Punjab Agricultural College was a big and comfortable residence with a sitting room, a drawing room, two bed rooms, two European-styled bath rooms, a wide veranda, and a garden. There were other rest houses too, including one of Department of Civil District Board, one of Police Department, and one of Public Works Department. Overall, there were about 64 big and small *dak* bungalows of Canal Irrigation Department in the Lyallpur District.[51] In the town of Lyallpur, there were two canal *dak* bungalows. One was at the east of the *Gora Qabristan* (British graveyard) in Company Bagh. This was a large *dak* bungalow, wherein only the officials of Canal Irrigation Department used to stay. Its main attraction was the nearby Polo ground (the present Golf Club). There was another canal *dak* bungalow in the town, located in front of Railway Station. This *dak* bungalow was more frequently used as a rest house (see no.14 in Figure 5.11).

Canal. The town itself was the product of canal colonisation, wherein its inception was only realised once settling of the Chenab Colony in the Sandal Bar was started. Chenab Colony was the largest canal colony laid out in the western *doabs* with its main branches: Rakh, Jhang, and Bhowana (discussed in Chapter 2). This new town of Lyallpur was laid out on western side of a canal of Rakh Branch. This canal called "Tool wala Rajbah" along the present main Okara-Faislabad-Samundri Road, is located on the north-eastern side of the town, and passes behind the Railway Station (see no.20 in Figure 5.11). This canal defines the outer boundary of the colonial town on its one side together with the railway lines. During the British times, the town was mainly spread on south-western side of this canal (see Figure 5.11). Today, however, the town is expanded on both sides of this canal (see Figure 5.15). Other than defining the limit/boundary of the town during the colonial times, this Canal also became the source of piped water supply for this town.

A smaller Rajbah Canal also branches out from near the water reservoir of this bigger Rakh Branch that runs in front of the Railway station along the Rajbah Road and touches the outer edge of the Bazaar Square at the junction of the Montgomery Bazar and Jhang Bazar (see no. 21 in Figure 5.11, and Figure 5.17). This Rajbah Canal along with Rajbah Road became a starting edge of the emerging industry and factory area

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[51] Bokhari, pp. 230-231.

between this canal and the bigger canal of the Rakh Branch on the outer edge of the town. This area was also occupied by the Railway workshops and Railway colony for the employees of Railway Department (see no. 25 in Figure 5.11, and Figure 5.14).

Company Bagh and Chenab Club

The new town of Lyallpur, during the colonial times, was a small town, also called city of trees. One of its renowned parks was located on the rear side of the *Kutchery* Premises, known as Company *Bagh* (see no. 16 in Figure 5.11). When in 1877, Queen Victoria received the title of "Qaiser-e-Hind" (Empress of India), this park was renamed as Qaiseri Bagh. Presently, however, this park is called Jinnah Gardens. This large park is located in a prominent position in the town, and was laid out in the rectangular plot on the northern side of the *Kutchery*. It spreads from the Mall Road in front of the Railway Station to Jail Road. It is a lush-green park with abundant *Shisham* trees, a fountain and a *baradari* (pavilion). It also had a small graveyard reserved for the British only, *Gora-Qabristan*. The *baradari* was a square platform with marble turrets and *jalli* (lace/screen work) and housed a statue of Queen Victoria.[52] This park land was owned by the Department of Canal Irrigation.

On the north-eastern edge of the present Company Bagh, where this park meets the Mall Road, a club building was constructed for the serving European officials in the town (see no. 16 in Figure 5.11). Before the inception of this new Club, known as Chenab Club, in 1910, the British officials used to gather in the barrack-like building of the Polo Club, for their leisure and social life. The room in the building of the Polo Club, however, became inadequate with time and increase of officers in the town as the town grew and with the establishment of more governmental administrative departments including treasury, police, education, health, cleanliness, canal, railway, post office, and agriculture. Captain A.M.W. Douglas (Deputy Commissioner of Lyallpur twice: first from 2 December 1909 to 26 April 1911, and then from 2 June 1911 to 25 January 1912), in 1900, however, decided to build a separate and proper Club for the officials of the town. Choosing as he please anywhere he likes as a deputy commissioner, Captain Douglas thought the present location of the Club in front of the Mall Road in the ground of Company Bagh as the most appropriate location. Since the club was to serve as the place for the non-official purposes, social life of the officers, it was decided that the officials will give monetary contribution from their own salaries for the construction of

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[52] ibid., p. 35, 68.

this club. The responsibility to collect the donation in 1909 was given to Sidney Preston.[53] The main gate of the Chenab Club premises was located on the Mall Road. The club building, completed in 1912, was a simple yet elegant structure. There was also a bar in one room, while the big hall for sitting was sometimes used as a dance floor. Today, the Chenab Club building has been expanded to accommodate more facilities (see Figure 5.27, and Figure 5.28). Its architecture is discussed in Chapter 6.

Figure 5.27 View of original building of Chenab Club, Lyallpur.[54]

Figure 5.28 View of present club premises, with the original building of Chenab Club, Lyallpur.[55]

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[53] ibid, p. 67-69.

[54] Photograph by Author.

[55] Photograph by Author.

The life at this club was mainly enjoyed by the European officials residing in Lyallpur during the early British times. No native was allowed in Chenab Club in the beginning, this practice was common in all the similar clubs in various colonial towns of British India, such as Gymkhana Club, Lahore. This culture, however, changed later on when more and more Indian natives become the part of Indian Civil Service (I.C.S.) in the later decades of Imperial Rule. During the British times, Chenab Club gradually occupied prominent position in the social life of the European officers. In the present times, the Chenab Club has retained its importance in the bureaucratic classes of the town, and has emerged as a renowned officers' club with distinguishing facilities and service after the Gymkhana Club Lahore in the Punjab of Pakistan.

Tennis players in lawn tennis courts, mainly, used to keep the club alive during the late afternoon during the British times. The evening and night life at the Club on a working day used to conclude on the bell rings of Clock Tower roughly around hours of 8 or 9 pm in the night. The occasional exceptions in this routine was only when a senior official was visiting from another town, resulting in a prolonged night at the Club. On Sunday, however, life at club began in the morning, after a small prayer service in the Church located in front of Chenab Club, the officials used to head to the Club to wait for their wives who had remained in the Church for a longer prayer. While waiting, they used to play Bridge game and enjoy drinking the cold beer manufactured at the Murree Brewery, located in the hill station in the North of the Punjab.[56]

Religious, Health and Educational Institutions

One prominent Church of Saint Paul was located in the corner of Mall Road where it meets current Sargodha Road, in front of the Chenab Club (see no. 22 in Figure 5.11). The stone of this church was laid out by Deputy Commissioner Captain M. W. Douglas on 1 January 1913 (see Figure 5.29, and Figure 5.30). This church was central to the life of the officers where they used to gather for Sunday prayer and then head to the nearby Chenab Club. The architecture of this church is discussed in Chapter 6.

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[56] Bokhari, pp. 85-86.

Figure 5.29 View of Saint Paul's Church, located in front of Chenab Club, Lyallpur.[57]

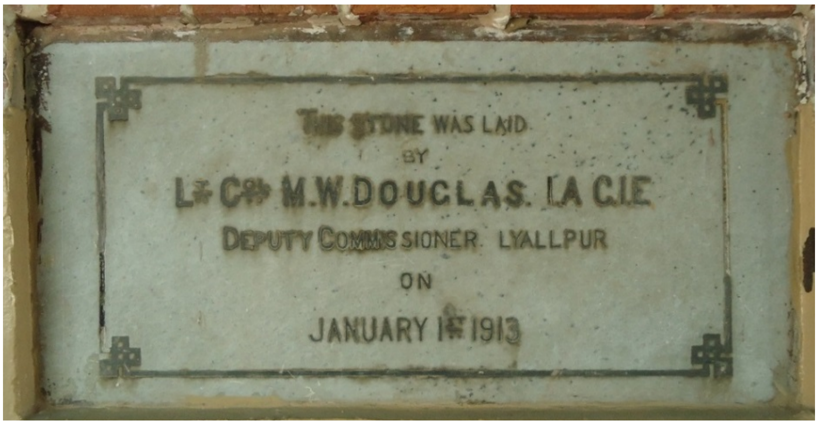

Figure 5.30 View of Foundation Stone of Saint Paul's Church, Lyallpur.[58]

There was also a Roman Catholic Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul, constructed in 1901. It is located on the junction of railway roads coming from Qaiseri Gate and Ghumbdi, and the Railway Station, near the small canal along Rajbah Road and town's industrial area (see no. 23 in Figure 5.11). The original cathedral building is a modest one-storey hall, made up of red bricks (see Figure 5.31, and Figure 5.32). The architecture of this cathedral is discussed in Chapter 6.

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[57] Photograph by Author.

[58] Photograph by Author.

Figure 5.31 Roman Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul, Lyallpur.[59]

Figure 5.32 View of red brick wall of Roman Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul, Lyallpur.[60]

These churches together with other churches throughout the villages and towns of this district, were run by various church missionary societies including Roman Catholic Mission, American and Presbyterian Missions. Not only did these missionaries run these churches, but they also established various schools and owned agricultural land in this district. The presence of these missionary societies together with their religious, and

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[59] Photograph by Author.

[60] Photograph by Author.

educational services introduced a new religion and educational system in the Bar region. Other than the educational institutions run by church missioneries, there were also some local efforts by native societies, including the Hindu societies of Arya Samaj, and schools ran by Sikhs and Muslims, for instance, Khalsa High School established in 1908. There was also a Primary School for Boys in Aminpur Bazar which had been bulldozed in recent times.

Among the educational institutions developed by the government, the most prominent is Government College of Lyallpur (see Figure 5.33, and Figure 5.34). This college was started in 1897 in the building of a Middle School located near the Qaiseri Gate. Presently, it has acquired the university status, and is known as Government College University, Faisalabad. The architecture of this college building is discussed in Chapter 6.

Figure 5.33 Front view of main building, Government College of Lyallpur.[61]

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[61] Photograph by Author.

Figure 5.34 Side view of main block, Government College of Lyallpur.[62]

Punjab Agricultural College. One of the most prominent and renowned educational institutions established in this new town was Punjab Agricultural College, also sometimes referred as Lyallpur Agricultural College. This college was the largest agricultural college developed during the British times in the whole of Asia. With its own experimental farms, the college provided education, research and development in the field of agricultural sciences. Together with engineering works of railways, revenue administration, and canal networks, this college boosted the agricultural production of this district and of the region at large. The college campus also acted as the outer limits of the town on its western sides during the colonial times. Today, however, the town has spread much beyond this college campus. The college was developed in the land plots located in front of the Police Lines and adjacent to the Central Jail along the Jail Road, where the Circular Road touches the Jail Road perpendicularly (see no. 18 in Figure 5.11, and Figure 5.15). The College spread over a vast area, was initially started from a 50-acre experimental farm for agriculture between 1901 and 1903, shown in the plot 26 and 27 of the Figure 5.16. This land owned by irrigation department expanded over time to 719 acres. Today, the college campus occupies an area of more than 2,500 acres, and has acquired the status of a university, University of Agriculture, Faisalabad. This university is among the top five educational institutions of Pakistan.

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[62] Photograph by Author.

Punjab Agricultural College had the latest up-to-date modern laboratory facilities and equipment for the agricultural research along with a college library. Further, the College had its own electricity generation plant from the coal and steam, established by its principal, Professor Barnes. In 1906 the construction of the main building of the college and research institution was started along with its main hostel (see Figure 5.35, and Figure 5.36). The architecture of the college buildings is discussed in Chapter 6.

Figure 5.35 Main building, Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur.[63]

Figure 5.36 View of main hostel, Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur.[64]

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[63] Photograph by Author.

[64] Photograph by Author.

Unlike the other educational institutions in the district, the colonial government spent lavishly on the development and running of this college, its research and allied facilities. However, the student strength at this college in the start was very low; there were only 45 students studying in this college in 1912 and the expenditure of the half of these students was the responsibility of the college for the promotion of agricultural education. This shows the importance of the development and promotion of agricultural production in this region for the colonial government. However, in this educational venture too, the government had a policy to admit only those students (mostly Muslims and Sikhs preferred over Hindus) in this college who belonged to agricultural classes, thus, an agricultural background was a necessary pre-requisite.

Bazaar Square with Clock Tower

The strong impact of the growing importance of economy in determining the town form in the West Punjab, can best be observed in the planning of the town of Lyallpur. The eight bazars of the Lyallpur around a centralized Clock Tower called *Ghanta Ghar*, with the ninth bazar developing in the inner circle of the ring, gave a unique identity to this town in the region as a major market town. The location of these bazars in the prominent and centralized location within the town, adjacent to the Civil Station across the Circular Road and nearby Railway Station, further enhanced their importance in contributing to the functioning and identity of the town as a market town in the region (see Figure 5.14). This bazar square with its clock tower became the commercial hub of this town. These bazars were laid out as one of the initial structures in four big squares that meet at a circle from which these radial bazars appears to be radiating out, forming a union jack in the plan (see Figure 5.13). A ring road linked all these bazars on their outer edges to the *Kutchery* Premises on one end and the Rajbah Road with canal on the other.

Most of these bazars of Lyallpur were named after the direction in which they were pointing, for instance, Kutchery Bazar located on the road facing towards *Kutchery* of this town, while Rail Bazar was located on the road facing towards Railway Station of Lyallpur. Other bazars are named after several towns within the Lyallpur District and the Division of Multan. Chiniot Bazar was named after the small *tahsil* town of Chiniot in the Lyallpur District, similarly, Bhawana Bazar and Aminpur Bazar were named after the small towns of Bhawana and Aminpur in this district. Two bazars were named after the district headquarters located in the Multan Division: Montgomery Bazar and Jhang Bazar. *Karkhana* which is translated as Factory, gave its name to one of the bazars, known as Karkhana Bazar, for it pointed in the direction of factory area of the town. Gol

Bazar which meant round bazar, was so named due to its location in the inner circle of the ring of the roundabout or square of the Clock Tower (see Figure 5.13).

The bazars of Lyallpur were laid out as early as the start of the town but grew gradually as the town flourished. Soon, each bazaar acquired its own speciality and unique character. Together, these bazaars sell various types of goods and items required for day to day activities of the town. Today, these bazars are famous for selling various items and goods including gold, cloth, medicines, and food, etc. Kutchery Bazar is famous as a market for mobile and its accessories, while Bhawana Bazar is a market for electrical and electronic goods. Aminpur Bazar sells stationary and interior décor items. Rail Bazar is a famous market for gold and cloth. Due to the speciality of the bazar as a market for yarn and raw cloth trading, Montgomery Bazar is also locally known as *Sutar Mandi* (cloth market). Karkhana Bazar is a market for herbal medicines, while Chiniot Bazar is a mixed market for not only allopathic and homeopathic medicines, but also for cloth, blankets, sofa cloths, curtains, and poultry feed, and has shops selling wholesale items. Jhang Bazar, on the other hand, is famous market for fish, meat, vegetables and fruits, and lastly Gol Bazar is famous for selling dry fruits, wholesale soaps, and oil. The main streets of each bazar were occupied by three to four storey street mansions with shops on ground floor and residences on the upper floors. Mostly Hindus lived in the streets of these bazars (see Figure 5.37).

Figure 5.37 View of Bazaar Square, Lyallpur, showing the street mansions with shops on ground floor and residences on their top floors.[65]

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[65] Photograph by Author.

During the colonial times, Kutchery Bazar, located near the Civil Station across the Circular Road was a wide and long bazar (see no. 8 in Figure 5.11). Its main road was clean and lined with row of trees (see Figure 5.38). This bazar was the centre of the civil officials of the town, not only for shopping but also for the leisure walks. Most of the time, a *sahib bahadur* (British officer) could be seen walking on foot or on a horseback in this bazar. For that reason, mostly, the locals rarely head towards this bazar. The bazar had the big lit-up shops selling expensive and sophisticated items, products that were usually for the elite inhabitants and governmental officials of the town. These shops sold imported products including makeup and beauty accessories, and fashion items from France and Belgium, warm clothing, woollen caps, polo game goods, perfumes, toys, and vinegar imported from the Britain, and other household items. There were also some shops of Hindu traders or businessmen for currency exchange. There was a London House in this bazar, that was similar to the one located in the towns of Sargodha and Gujrat. In this London House, only British officers used to shop. This centre used to sell the renowned cigarettes, cigar, tobacco and liquor, but was more expensive. There was also a Jamiya Masjid for the Muslims' Friday Prayers, and a Gurdwara for the Sikhs in this bazar.[66] This Jamiya Masjid was supposedly built by Munshi Fateh Din, a local cleric, who had built several other mosques in the vicinity.

Figure 5.38 View of main street of Kutchery Bazar, Lyallpur.[67]

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[66] Bokhari, pp. 242-243.

[67] Photograph by Author.

Rail Bazar adjacent to Kutchery Bazar, faced towards the town's railway station was a bazar famous for its business of gold and precious stones (see no. 1 in Figure 5.11). The goldsmiths, jewellers, and artisans of similar crafts like stone-specialist, resided in this bazar, were mostly Hindus. In the middle of this bazar under the shade of a Banyan Tree, was the Imperial Bank of India. This bazar remained open till late at night. After closing their shops, the Hindu goldsmiths go to their houses located above their shops.[68] On the entrance of this bazar from the junction of Circular Road and Railway Road was the famous Ghumbdi and Qaiseri Gate.

Located adjacent to Rail Bazar, is the Karkhana Bazar (see no. 2 in Figure 5.11). This bazar has as wide roads as the Kutchery Bazar. Adjacent to this Bazar is the Montgomery Bazar (no. 3 in Figure 5.11). The outer edge of this bazar touched the Rajbah Road with Canal, and was a more deserted bazar during the colonial times than other bazars. A street in this bazar where the Hindu inhabitants lives, there was a *mandir* of the Hindu Society Arya Samaj (this temple is now being converted into Jamiya Sharqiya Arabic College). The administrative office of Arya Samaj was in the Congress Galli of the Montgomery Bazar. At the edge of this street, in front of the small canal was a temple. On other side of this canal at a distance was the only Shamshan Ghaat of the Hindu, and a Gao-shala for the old and sick cows. All these facilities were run by the society of Arya Samaj.[69] Nearby were some huts of the *chammar* (shoe makers or leather workers) of the town. On this side of the canal were the neighbourhood of the poor Hindus and Sikhs.

Jhang Bazar (see no. 4 in Figure 5.11), adjacent to Montgomery Bazar, was a crowded bazar that was spread from clock tower to the outer flowing canal along Rajbah Road (see Figure 5.39). For the shopping of the day to day things required, the locals used to come to the Jhang Bazar. One can buy an item of any kind in this bazar, including agricultural machinery, cloth, seeds, salt, utensils, food, sweets, makeup, and jewellery for women. This variety of goods attracted customers from not only this town but also from the surrounding villages. In the start of the bazar after crossing the canal, there was a wide open garden that used to be the favourite sitting place of the travellers and visiting pedestrians. There at its edge under the shade of a Banyan Tree was the gathering place of the poor inhabitants of the town, which acted like a Chenab Club for

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[68] Bokhari, p. 237.

[69] ibid, pp. 164-166, 207-208.

these poor dwellers of the town. There was a stone sculpture of a beautiful woman in the famous Pari Galli (Fairy Street), named after Fairy Building. There were grassy fields on both sides of the wide and metalled main road of the bazar. This bazar was the longest bazar among all the bazars of the town. No other bazar had this big a garden either (this garden no longer exists). There were trading centres in this bazar and food shops and restaurants which used to remain crowded with customers till night. Mostly Hindu resided in the streets of this bazar, who were the artisans of pottery making and pottery painting.

Figure 5.39 View of main street of Jhang Bazar from the Clock Tower, Lyallpur.[70]

Figure 5.40 View of main street of Bhowana Bazar, Lyallpur.[71]

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[70] Photograph by Author.

[71] Photograph by Author.

Adjacent to Jhang Bazar, and in front of Rail Bazar, was the Bhowana Bazar (see no. 5 in Figure 5.11, and Figure 5.40). This was a narrow and deserted bazar like Montgomery Bazar, and had several Banyan Trees (these trees no longer exist today). There were some shops of local musical instruments (including harmonium and satar) in the middle of this bazar, wherein the singers of some musician's family of Patiala used to repair the musical instruments.[72] While the Aminpur Bazar was as wide and spacious as the Jhang Bazar (see no. 6 in Figure 5.11). The last limit of this bazar was the agricultural fields of Agricultural College. This bazar had various types of businesses, including shops of the bed sheets, few shops of local *hakim* (local traditional medical practitioners), some shops of plant seeds and some shops of the animal skin.

Clock Tower. The renowned *Ghanta Ghar* of Lyallpur was erected in the centre of the radial bazars of Lyallpur, wherein *Ghanta Ghar* means Clock Tower in local language (see no. 9 in Figure 5.11). While erected to glorify the long reign of Queen Victoria, Qaiser-e-Hind, the Empress of India, this clock tower not only became the symbol of the orderly and disciplined life in a British colonial town but also added to the unique identity of this town in the region as a market town with a clock tower in its prime Bazar Square. Constructed between November 1903 and 1905, this clock tower in the middle of the Bazar Square soon became the centre of the life of this town's dwellers. Acting as the symbol of new British ruler's power and disciplined lifestyle in contrast to the native Punjabi lifestyle, the bell rings of this clock tower raised the awareness of time and British cultural values among the natives every day. In the middle of quiet nights of this new town during the colonial times, one could hear the bells of the clock tower and the noise of passing railway trains at a distance. There used to be a deep well at the place of clock tower in the middle of this garden. The water level in this age-old well had gone so deep down during the colonial times that the extraction of water from it was an issue. One can also find the mention of this ancient well in the local folk literature.[73] Eventually the existing old well in the centre of the garden was filled in with mud and a strong platform was built on top. The clock tower was then erected on top of this platform after the laying out of the radial bazars. There used to be the flag of the British Empire on the top of this clock tower. On 14 November 1903, Sir Charles Montgomery Rivaz, Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, inaugurated the construction of the Clock Tower, which was completed by 1905 (see Figure 5.41). Though the clock tower was the symbol

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[72] Bokhari, pp. 238-239.

[73] ibid, pp. 154-155.

of the British Raj, erected to glorify the reign of Queen Victoria, its construction was mainly financed by the donation of Rupees 40,000 by this town's inhabitants. The architecture of this clock tower is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

Figure 5.41 View of Clock Tower, Lyallpur from the Bazar.[74]

5.4 Conclusion

New towns laid out as headquarter towns of canal colony districts of the West Punjab, bring forth the influence of new rulers on the landscape of the West Punjab. These three towns were more of administrative and engineering efforts than the planned or designed towns. Their town form developed and evolved during the British time with wide tree-lined main roads, rectangular grid iron layout, bungalow styled residences, and public

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[74] Photograph by Author.

buildings in western and hybrid architectural styles. These new towns are in contrast to the urban form and architecture of the old Punjabi towns.

In addition, the town form was influenced by the British imperatives of power and economy. The new towns were made the headquarter towns in their respective districts, and were planned according to their role as new imperial centres of political and economic control, between big cities and villages. The town form was informed by this role of the town which was depicted in its urban form and context. In two districts, headquarter towns were shifted from old towns to newly laid out towns for better political control. Economic activity, too, was improved in these towns mainly through efficient civil station providing revenue administration, civil bureaucratic governance and judiciary support, well connected through main railway lines and roads with other district headquarters of the Punjab. Some bazars also developed in these towns gradually, leading to the emergence of new markets in the region. While in the third case of Lyallpur, a new town was laid out to serve as headquarter town of newly established district, with the more clear and profound plan for economic activity. Unlike Sargodha and Montgomery, wherein the urban form were more influenced by the imperial power and governance, Lyallpur's town form developed with the economic activity as its major deriving force. Lyallpur laid out with its iconic bazars around the town's Clock Tower, emerged not only as a major market town but also as the industrial centre in the region. The various types of buildings developed in these headquarter towns also reflected the influence of the British imperatives of power and economy, their architecture will be discussed in the next Chapter 6.

6 . Spaces of Power and Governance, and Economy

Chapter 6 of Thesis

6.1 Introduction

The monumental character of the empire's public buildings in big cities is generally seen as the means to impress, dominate and influence the ruled native Indians. In the later period, after direct crown rule in 1858, the debate on selection of an appropriate architectural style for buildings in British India resulted in a conflict of opinions about the most suitable style of architecture for the Raj. While one group favoured a pure western style, another advocated including the rich building tradition of native Indians i.e. in a new hybrid style, sometimes referred as 'Indo-Saracenic', which is an amalgamation of western forms and Indian art and architectural features.[1] Various studies have been limited to the colonial architecture of the big Indian cities, following either a western or a hybrid style.[2] However, focus and attention to monumental-scaled public buildings of capital cities, like Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, and Lahore, sometimes designed by leading European architects and engineers of the time, does not give a complete picture of the public buildings developed by colonial rulers throughout the British Empire in India. In West Punjab in particular, this narrative is limited to capital or divisional headquarter towns like Lahore[3], Multan[4], and Peshawar[5]. There is a dire need to study and document colonial architecture of medium and small towns of the Punjab. These public buildings, mostly modest in scale and following standardized

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[1] Thomas R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (London: Faber, 1989), pp. 1-54.

[2] Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash, eds., *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon* (New York: Roudledge, 2007). Also see, Mrinalini Rajagopalan and Madhuri Desai, eds., *Colonial Frames, Nationalist Histories: Imperial Legacies, Architecture, and Modernity* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2012). And, G. A, Bremner, ed., *Architecture and Urbanism in the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[3] Pervaiz Vandal and Sajida Vandal, *The Raj, Lahore and Bhai Ram Singh* (Lahore: NCA Publication, 2006). Also see, William J. Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2008). And, Shama Anbrine, 'The Co-operative Model Town Society: History, Planning, Architecture and Social Character of an Indiginous Garden Suburb in Colonial Lahore' (doctoral thesis, University of Liverpool, 2014).

[4] Sajida Haider Vandal, editor. *Cultural Expressions of South Punjab* (Islamabad-Lahore: UNESCO-THAAP Publication, 2011).

[5] Samra M. Khan, 'The Sethi Merchants' *Havelis* in Peshawar, 1800-1900: Form, Indentity and Status' (doctoral thesis, University of Westminster, 2016).

building plans, developed by engineers of Public Works Department (PWD) or military officers or administrators serving in the local offices, tell a contrasting story to that of monumental public buildings in the Punjab's capital cities. This chapter will discuss and document the architecture of public and semi-public buildings developed during colonial rule in eight headquarter towns of canal colony districts of West Punjab, namely Gujranwala, Gujrat, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Sargodha, Sheikhupura, and Sialkot.

The colonial architecture of these towns is discussed in terms of its capacity to facilitate the role of these headquarter towns as centres of imperial power and economy throughout the landscape of the Punjab. Various types of public and semi-public buildings are discussed and documented through the data collected during fieldwork, mainly in the form of graphic images. Some archival resources, including government reports and gazetteers, accessed at Indian Office Records Collection of British Library and at the Punjab Archives in Lahore were also consulted. Starting with a brief account of the general characteristics of public and semi-public buildings, this chapter will progress to discuss in detail various types of buildings found in these headquarter towns.

6.2 Architecture of Public and Semi-Public Buildings in the Selected Headquarter Towns

New types of buildings emerged in old and new towns of the Punjab during colonial rule. These public and semi-public buildings were in contrast to traditional buildings, not only in terms of new architectural styles but also in their capacity to provide facilities for functioning of the state affairs and for everyday life of the general public. These buildings catered to needs and requirements of new bureaucratic and civil administrations, new emerging agricultural and trade activities, new institutions of religion, education, health, and recreation, and new living styles introduced by the foreign British rulers. New building types of public and semi-public buildings included administrative and judicial buildings of civil stations, jails and prisons, recreational buildings for European officers, infrastructural buildings of rest houses, post offices and railway stations, monuments like clock towers and gates, street mansions and bungalows, and religious and educational buildings.

In the selected eight headquarter towns of West Punjab, these new buildings were the result of engineering, military and administrative pursuits. Primarily, engineers and administrators of the Punjab's PWD, Military, Irrigation and Railway departments developed these structures for functioning of the state at district level. Standardized plans of buildings were commonly found in these towns' new public buildings. In some towns, a few buildings have even the exact or similar floor plans, facades, features and building materials, reflecting the main purpose of these buildings as providing basic amenities for day to day functioning of the colonial state and society. Most of these buildings are one or two storey, barrack-like structures, sometimes with courtyards or front green lawns. Locally available materials, mostly brick, sandstone, wood, and for decorative purposes marble, were used together with the newly introduced materials of cement and concrete. This choice of materials alongside the utilitarian nature of these buildings with standardized plans also reflects the need to reduce cost of buildings, making them more economical yet efficient in their construction, operation and maintenance. The modest scale of public buildings in these towns is in contrast to monumental public buildings of the capitals. However, these colonial buildings of district headquarters still stand out through the combined effect of their distinct architectural style, layout and location, and the facilities they provide, in comparison to and from the surrounding old traditional buildings and urban fabric of Punjabi towns and villages.

Colonial buildings of these headquarter towns were majorly following either a purely western style of architecture or a hybrid architectural style, combining western forms with local traditional features, often referred as Indo-Saracenic style. Within these pure western and hybrid styles, one finds great variety. For instance, western styles include but are not limited to Neo-classical, and Gothic styles. In case of hybrid styles, one finds the combination of various traditional styles with western styles, including the Hindu, Sikh and Mughal architectural traditions as well as other local traditions like the Kashmiri architectural style. In the following sections of this chapter, various types of public and semi-public buildings found in eight headquarter towns of Punjab are discussed in detail. This narrative is divided into three main categories of architecture of power and governance, architecture of economy, and lastly other institutional structures, with examples and documentation of the related buildings in selected headquarter towns, to reflect on development of these buildings in their capacities to facilitate these towns' role at both the urban and district levels.

6.2.1 Architecture of Power and Governance: Public Buildings of Civil Stations/Kutchery Premises

The civil station is an essential part of a colonial town, the presence of which equipped the town with necessary facilities for its functioning as a district headquarter. With its various facilities, these civil stations influenced urban form (discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5). The civil station, as its name implies, has a variety of buildings for civil administration of town as well as district. These various civil administrative buildings include public buildings related to bureaucratic officers and their allied office staff, such as Deputy Commissioner Officer (DCO) Office, offices of revenue administration department, offices of district councils, and record rooms. In addition, civil stations also house the judicial administration for the district, including buildings of district courts, session houses and required spaces for offices of lawyers and judges. Other than civil administration and judicial spaces, civil stations have allied facilities of district police offices and jail premises. These are either adjacent to or at close proximity to civil stations. Some other recreational buildings like clubs for European officers serving in town and district were also provided in some towns. In close proximity to these civil station, one also finds various infrastructural buildings of *dak* Bungalows for officers, post offices as well as railway stations, facilitating the role of headquarter towns as centres of civil and revenue administration in districts, and as centres of economy and trade (role of towns is discussed in Chapter 3, and its relation with town development is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5).

Furthermore, today, many of these public buildings of civil station built during British times are either being rebuilt or replaced with completely new buildings. The ones that remain today are either ill maintained, overcrowded or in dilapidated conditions. These buildings are often whitewashed and painted regularly in post-colonial times in insufficient efforts of present post-colonial governments to maintain these buildings. This surface painting on regular basis has become a prominent feature and identity of the majority of public buildings of colonial times during present times. It is deemed necessary to document these governmental buildings of colonial times which are part of built heritage and are in threat of being completely replaced over time. This section of the chapter will discuss the architecture of public buildings of civil station and its allied infrastructural buildings with examples from various headquarter towns of the Punjab.

Civil Administration Buildings

The buildings for civil and revenue administration of district in headquarter towns are mostly single storey structures. Some appears to be very similar in their design to reflect the notion of standardized plans and buildings laid out by engineers of the Punjab's Public Works Department (PWD) in different towns of the Punjab. These buildings include office of Deputy Commissioner Officer (DCO), and various other buildings providing offices to revenue and district administration staff and also house record rooms and other storage spaces. Mostly brick construction and similar to barrack-like structures, these buildings are planned with rooms along verandas. The rooms have often high roof while the surrounding verandas have low roof showing climatic considerations in planning of these standardized buildings. While high roof also allow the air and light in rooms through ventilators and sometimes through wind towers, covered corridors of these buildings often provide waiting area for general public protecting them from weather of the Punjabi towns.

DCO Office, Gujranwala. Office of Deputy Commissioner Officer (DCO) and Civil Courts are housed in the same building along Sialkot Road, at town of Gujranwala (see Figure 6.1). Today, this building is cladded with red brick tiles, called *Gotka* in local language. A covered portico, square in plan with Corinthian columns and triangular pediment, is added recently to its main entrance (see Figure 6.2, and Plates 1 and 2 in Appendix V). The main building is of colonial times and is a single storey brick structure in a Neo-classical style with semi-circular arches. One of its prominent features is its circular room on one side, a feature it has in common with some other District Commissioner Office buildings in the region (see Figure 6.2, and Plates 1 to 3 in Appendix V). A semi-circular arched veranda runs throughout the length of this building, roof of which is lower than roof of rooms. Some of the verandas are used today for parking vehicles by staff and people visiting the civil station, while other verandas provide waiting spaces. See Plates 3 to 8 in Appendix V.

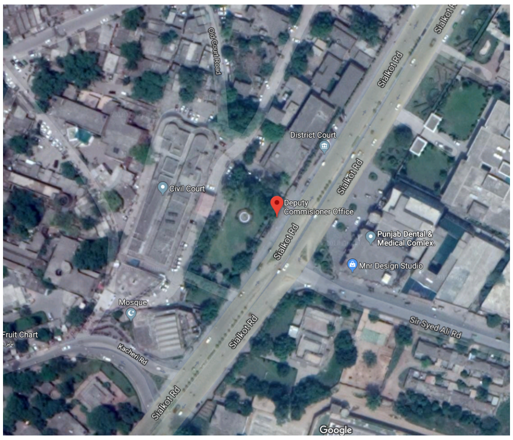

Figure 6.1 Map showing the building of DCO Office and Civil Court, along the main Sialkot Road, in the town of Gujranwala.[6]

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[6] Google Map acquired from Google Earth, *Map of Gujranwala,* (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 16 October 2018].

Figure 6.2 DCO Office, Gujranwala.[7]

DCO Office, Jhang. Office of Deputy Commissioner Officer (DCO), located on Kutchery Road in Jhang, was constructed in 1857 (see Figure 6.3). Today, this building is also clad with *Gotka* (red brick tiles). Its circular rooms on front and side facades are most noteworthy (see Figure 6.4, and Plate 9 and 10 in Appendix V). This single storey building has a high roof, surrounded by low roof verandas with semi-circular arches. The high circular rooms house the office of Deputy Commissioner Officer. The interior of this office shows a semi-circular arch over desk space and wooden beams in its roof with ventilators (see Plates 11 to 13 in Appendix V). For provision of air and light, this building also has wind towers in its roof, for instance, in the ceiling of record room (see Plates 14 and 15 in Appendix V). The corridors and verandas, with wooden roof, are now used as waiting areas and also for parking of vehicles (see Plate 16 in Appendix V).

Figure 6.3 Map showing DCO Office, District Council, and Officers' Club, in Civil Station of Jhang.[8]

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[7] Photograph by Author.

[8] *Map of Jhang,* (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 16 October 2018].

Figure 6.4 DCO Office, Jhang.[9]

DCO Office, Sialkot. The office building of Deputy Commissioner Officer is located at one corner of Kutchery Chowk along Kutchery Road at Sialkot (see Figure 6.5). The building in its planning and design is similar to the DCO Offices at Gujranwala and Jhang (see Figure 6.6, and Plates 17 to 19 in Appendix V). This building, however, is much larger with its three sides around a rectangular courtyard, and appears to be better maintained (see Plate 20 in Appendix V). The whole building is raised from road level on a platform. It is a single storey building with an exposed brickwork and semi-circular arches. Like the other DCO Office buildings at Gujranwala and Jhang, this building also has circular rooms, and roof of its rooms is higher than the surrounding verandas. Wood is used in the roof and also in the windows and doors. Other than windows and ventilators, some rooms also have wind towers that admit light and air in its rooms. See Plates 17 to 22 in Appendix V.

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[9] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.5 Map showing the building of DCO Office, Sialkot along the main Kutchery Road at Kutchery Chowk.[10]

Figure 6.6 DCO Office, Sialkot.[11]

DCO Office, Gujrat. The building that used to house Deputy Commissioner Office in Gujrat is different in style and layout from the rest of DCO Office buildings discussed formerly (see Figure 6.7). This brick building is now converted into office of local council administration, while DCO Office is shifted to an entirely new building. It is a single storey rectangular building without any circular rooms, and has pointed arches in

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[10] *Map of Sialkot,* (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 16 October 2018].

[11] Photograph by Author.

its veranda. The high roof of its rooms have ventilators with semi-circular ventilators and shades. Today, the pillars are clad with marble and one also finds rooms built in the veranda by filling arched openings with bricks. See Plates 23 and 24 in Appendix V.

Figure 6.7 Old building of DCO Office, Gujrat.[12]

District Cooperative Office, Sialkot. The District Cooperative Office of Sialkot is housed in a brick building with its own boundary wall and front lawn, nearby DCO Office in civil station of Sialkot. This single storey building is similar in design to the DCO Office buildings discussed above, with semi-circular arcaded veranda, and roof of rooms higher than verandas (see Figure 6.8). The building has exposed brickwork, and has wooden doors, windows, and ceilings (see Plates 25 to 30 in Appendix V).

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[12] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.8 District Cooperative Office, Sialkot.[13]

AC Office, Sialkot. Assistant Commissioner Office is housed in a single storey brick building at Sialkot *Kutchery*. It is similar in design to other office buildings of civil stations discussed above, with its main court rooms having higher roof than arcaded verandas (see Figure 6.9). The view of court room shows its wooden roof beams and ventilators. Besides, the court area in room is made of wood with a floral pattern that tells the influence of Kashmiri wood and designs and the brilliance of the district's artisan community. See Plates 31 to 34 in Appendix V.

Figure 6.9 AC (Assistant Commissioner) Office, Sialkot.[14]

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[13] Photograph by Author.

[14] Photograph by Author.

Office of Executive District Officer, Jhang. The office of Executive District Officer is housed in a single storey building with a front veranda lower in height than rooms (see Figure 6.10). There are four arched openings in veranda, two on each side, however, appear to have been filled in recently with bricks to create more room space. Another prominent feature of this building is its roof drainage that is accommodated as a recession in brick pillars between the arches (see Plate 35 in Appendix V).

Figure 6.10 Office of Executive District Officer, Jhang.[15]

Office of Revenue Department, Sargodha. The Revenue Department is housed in a red brick building, constructed in 1903, at civil station of Sargodha. This one storey building is similar in design to other buildings of civil station, and has a record room with a higher roof than the building's verandas (see Figure 6.11). The wooden beams and doors are visible in the interior views. The arches of veranda are made prominent by brickwork. The side wing also has heightened rooms with veranda in front. There are recessions in brick wall for roof drainage that also frame the ventilators. See Plates 36 to 38 in Appendix V.

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[15] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.11 Office of Revenue Department, Sargodha.[16]

General Record Room, Sialkot. The building of General Record Room in Sialkot *Kutchery* is located behind the DCO Office, shown by red dot in Figure 6.5. This building is square in plan, and have three levels (see Figure 6.12). Its main entrance facing the DCO Office is the lowest part, with three semi-circular archways, and rooms having low roof with rectangular windows. The middle part of building has a higher roof with segmental arched ventilators and windows. The back or rear is the most heighted part of building with large rectangular windows and segmental-arched ventilators. A brick cornice runs on all three levels. See Plates 39 to 43 in Appendix V.

Figure 6.12 General Record Room, Sialkot.[17]

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[16] Photograph by Author.

[17] Photograph by Author.

District Council Halls. Unlike the buildings of DCO Offices, AC Offices, Revenue Department and general record rooms discussed above, the buildings of District Councils in the civil stations of headquarter towns followed a different architectural style. The district council halls reflect an amalgamation of eastern and western forms in their architectural styles. This is also in line with the function of these buildings wherein the council members too have native representatives. Thus, hybrid style of architecture is adopted for these council hall buildings.

District Council Hall, Jhang. The building of District Council Hall at Jhang is located along Kutchery Road in front of Company Bagh and adjacent to the DCO Office (see Figure 6.3). Today, this hall is called Jinnah Hall, renamed after the founder of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Originally, however, this was called Amin ud Din Hall, named after Amin ud Din, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner and Chairman District Board of the Jhang, who laid its foundation stone on 22 April 1937 (see Figure 6.13). This building stands in its own premises within the boundary wall, made up of steel and iron. The entrance gate to the premises still retains its brick structure of colonial times, on top of which one finds intricate decorative motif and corner details (see Plates 44 and 45 in Appendix V). The space between the building and boundary wall is paved and is presently used as parking. There is also a garden between the council building and the adjacent DCO Office. The front hall building is almost square in plan. There is, however, a new room block, rectangular in plan, added and attached to its rear side during post-colonial times (see Figure 6.3). The old colonial council building is a single storey brick structure and is similar in its hybrid style to the front entrance gate (see Figure 6.14). Its main hall in middle has higher roof than surrounding verandas. A cornice with stylized-arched parapet runs at top, and at corners of roof, one also finds small minarets, square in plan, with small domes on top. The verandas have two circular sleek columns in between its rectangular arched openings. The corners of verandas, however, have brick pillars with two sleek square based columns on each sides. There is also a covered portico towards the side facing the garden. See Plates 46 to 49 in Appendix V.

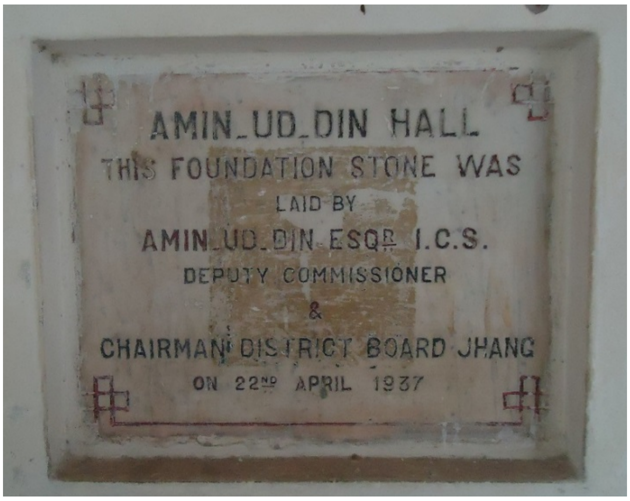

Figure 6.13 Foundation Stone of District Council Hall, named Amin-ud-Din Hall, Jhang.[18]

Figure 6.14 District Council Hall, Jhang.[19]

District Council, Lyallpur. The building of District Council at Lyallpur is located along M.A. Jinnah Road, in front of Kutchery Road coming from Bazar Square (see Figure 6.15). This building is much larger than District Council Hall in town of Jhang. This building stands in a large rectangular land plot with a circular garden between main entrance gate and building. This circular garden has a fountain in middle with two rectangular gardens on each side. There is also a mosque in this land plot, and two side entrances from First and Second Crossing Roads that link Jinnah Road with Club Road. The District Council was originally laid out in a much larger square land plot during

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[18] Photograph by Author.

[19] Photograph by Author.

colonial times. Today, this land plot, however, has been subdivided; the resulting rectangular plot towards the rear Club Road now houses the hostel facilities for the staff of adjacent Faisalabad Institute of Cardiology (see Figure 6.15). The main entrance gate is similar in architectural style to main building i.e., hybrid style of architecture with two embellished pillars, square in plan, having domes on top of central main iron gate and two small iron gates on each side (see Figure 6.16 and Plates 50 to 53 in Appendix V). This entrance gateways and main building are all white washed with brown paint to highlight its cornices, arches and other embellishments. The road that leads to main building from main entrance gate circles around a central garden with a fountain. Entrance to the building is through a covered arcaded portico, rectangular in plan, with three semi-circular arches on its front façade. These semi-circular arches have *jalli* (screen or lace work), while corner pillars of this entrance portico have brick pattern. The cornice that runs on top of this portico and the verandas of the building have blue patterned tiles. On roof of the portico, one finds a patterned parapet with small domes. Main building, rectangular in plan, is designed with two internal courtyards, one on each side of the central rectangular double heighted hall. This double storey hall has two big *minars* (minarets) on its front façade, which seems to be inspired from the Mughal architectural style and the mosque architecture. These minarets are octagonal in plan with domes on top. The single storey wings of the main building are symmetrical, have pointed arches, cornice with blue patterned tiles and small domical structures on top. See Plates 54 to 59 in Appendix VI.

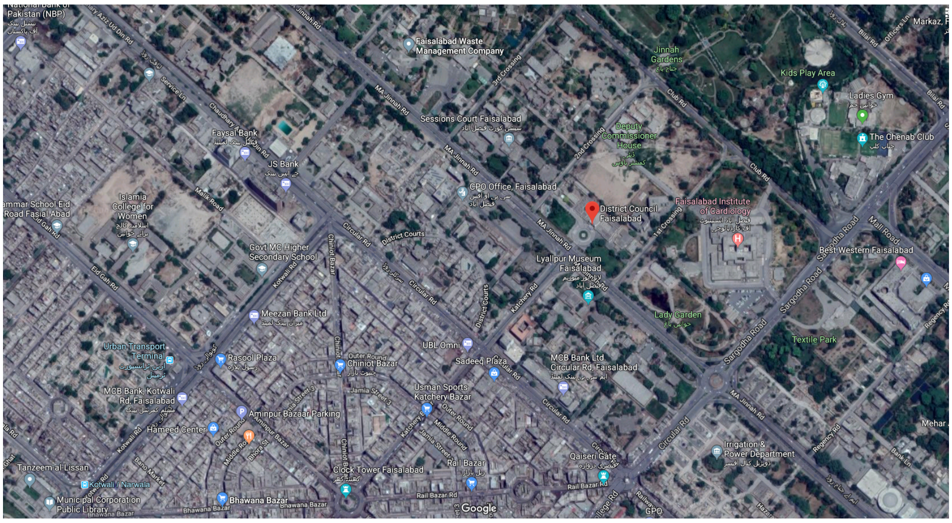

Figure 6.15 Google Map, showing the location of District Council, District Court and Session House, and Chenab Club, at the town of Lyallpur.[20]

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[20] *Map of Lyallpur*, (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 16 October 2018].

Figure 6.16 District Council, Lyallpur.[21]

Judicial Buildings

The judicial buildings in headquarter towns include the civil and district courts, and session houses. These buildings are essential parts of the civil station of a colonial town and provide the necessary judiciary facilities of court rooms, and office spaces for lawyers, judges and magistrates. The presence and architecture of these judiciary buildings also symbolise the colonial law and order by ensuring its provision in the whole of the district. These buildings like other civil administrative buildings had either a pure western style or a hybrid style of architecture. Mostly brick construction, these were one storey buildings housing the court rooms of various types and levels and offices of judiciary staff. In some of these headquarter towns, the judiciary buildings of colonial times are now being completely replaced with new post-colonial structures. In other towns, the surviving judiciary buildings are in dire need of documentation, maintenance and conservation. This section will discuss some of the surviving judiciary buildings in these headquarter towns.

District Court, Gujrat. Old building of the District Court in the civil station of Gujrat is a single storey structure, located on the Kutchery Chowk on the junction of Kutchery Road and Jalalpur-Gujrat Road. However, today, the District Court is shifted to a nearby new building built during post-colonial times (see Plate 60 in Appendix V). The old court building was constructed in 1930, and is a one-storey brick structure (see Figure

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[21] Photograph by Author.

6.17). As usual, the rooms in the middle have higher roof than the surrounding arcaded verandas. The verandas have pointed arches with square based pillars. Several of these arched openings of the veranda are now being filled in with bricks to create room spaces, which are at places plastered and have low quality steel windows with *jalli*. Lower and middle parts of some of the pillars are also plastered in recent times. Overall, this building has exposed brickwork and is white-washed, however, the paint is stripped off at few places, reflecting the poor maintenance of the building. In the brick walls, some vegetation has also grown up, and roof of the heighted rooms on one corner can also be observed to be sagging. The veranda where it is still open with arches is used today as a waiting area, one can see the concrete benches created inside it. See Figure 6.17, and Plates 61 to 63 in Appendix V.

Figure 6.17 District Court, Gujrat.[22]

Civil Court, Jhang. Civil Court building is located on the Kutchery Chowk, along main Kutchery Road, adjacent to the DCO Office in the civil station of Jhang. It is a long rectangular brick building, with a central entrance having a double heighted roof that allows the high level ventilators (see Figure 6.18). A lower roof veranda with pointed segmental arches and brick pillars run throughout the length of this building. A prominent feature of this building is its roof drainage that are recessions in the pillars between the arches of the veranda through brickwork. The pillars from their bases to

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[22] Photograph by Author.

the point from where the arches start are plastered, the top of the roof cornice is also plastered, the wall surfaces in between, however, have exposed brickwork. On the rear side of the building, today, one finds the temporary steel roof covering the extended offices of the lawyers, connecting the office in rooms with these outdoor offices to cope with the severe summer months of the Punjab. See Plates 64 to 71 in Appendix V.

Figure 6.18 Civil Court, Jhang.[23]

District Court and Session House, Lyallpur. The Session House and District Court are located in civil station of Lyallpur along M.A. Jinnah Road. The building of Session House or Court is located across the M.A. Jinnah Road from the District Courts, in the premises adjacent to the District Council of Lyallpur (see Figure 6.15). Session House is a single storey brick building that has verandas with semi-circular arches (see Figure 6.19). The prominent feature of this building is its oblong-polygonal double-heighted court room. This double-height block and the lower one storey rooms and verandas have a concrete patterned cornice painted white, while the exposed brick walls of the building are painted light pink. Today, semi-circular arches in the veranda of this oblong polygonal block is filled in with the steel railings. The building of District Court that also used to house the DCO Office, is located on the other side of the M.A. Jinnah Road to this Session House. This building houses the district courts and senior civil judge courts.

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[23] Photograph by Author.

This building is probably the oldest surviving colonial building in the civil station of Lyallpur that also seems to give inspiration for the adjacent newly built DCO Office Building where one can observe the similar styled arches, ventilators, and double heighted rooms. This colonial District Courts building is a long rectangular building placed at a distance from the road, the front space is now used as a parking lot (see Figure 6.20). Its double-height rooms have windows and high level ventilators. There is, however, no arcaded veranda in the front façade of the building. Some veranda space in this building is created by a tapered steel roof with roof tiles. Overall, the building has exposed brickwork, some of its brick masonry and blocks are recently renovated, while some other parts are entirely and newly built in recent post-colonial times. A patterned brick cornice runs on top of the building. The pointed arched windows and ventilators also have arched projections acting as window shades. The brick patterns and the window details are worth noticing especially in the projected parts and corners of the buildings. These windows are framed in between the pillared recessions in brick wall at regular intervals. See Plates 72 to 82 in Appendix V.

Figure 6.19 Session House, Lyallpur.[24]

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[24] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.20 District Court, Lyallpur.[25]

Jails and Prisons

One observes order and discipline in the layout of the colonial jails and prisons of these headquarter towns. Today, these jails are regularly whitewashed, and their communal areas are kept clean. The jail premises usually have height boundary walls with main gate, maintaining high security and preventing any intrusion from outside. A road from the main gate then leads to the main entrance building of the jail. This entrance building often have an additional boundary wall, encircling the interior prison blocks, providing another tier of security. The main entrance building, housing the administrative offices and allied facilities, is the only entrance way through which one can enter the internal prison blocks of the jail premises. The prison blocks are often planned in single storey buildings with a veranda in the front. These blocks are laid out around a central garden with a watch-tower in the centre, following the eighteenth and nineteenth century concept of Pan-opticon[26] that ensured security, control and order. Jails usually also have allied facilities of basic health care and library within their premises. Most of these jails of colonial times have not been enlarged to increase their capacity, however, the increased demand is catered by housing the increased number of prisoners sharing the old prison cells, which have led to the overcrowding of these jails in present post-colonial times. In most of the jails, the figures collected from the jail superintendents indicate the

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[25] Photograph by Author.

[26] Robert Home, *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities*. London: E & FN Spon, 1997, p. 47.

capacity increased from 2 to 5 times more than what these jails have been planned for originally. The prisoners in some of these jails are kept busy and are involved in manufacturing and making of the carpet, blankets, and jutes, thus, profiting the weaving and knitting industries during the colonial and post-colonial times. This section will discuss the architecture of the jails built in the selected headquarter towns of the West Punjab.

District Jail, Sialkot. District Jail of Sialkot was built in 1863, along the Jail Road. This jail has the authorised capacity of 722 prisoners, however, today, this jail is overcrowded beyond its allowed capacity with a total of 2,177 prisoners.[27] It is located adjacent to civil station of Sialkot, and separated from the nearby *Kutchery* with a College Road in between (see Figure 6.21). District Jail is laid out in rectangular land plot, which has a triangular land plot in the front. This triangular plot, other than acting as a parking lot for the adjacent *Kutchery*, jail and police lines, provides a necessary buffer zone and separation of jail premises from main road. A paved road leads from main gate to main building of jail premises. There is an additional gate with low heighted boundary wall, through which one approaches the main building (see Figure 6.22). The two storey main building acts as entrance to jail premises and houses the administrative offices (see Plate 83 in Appendix V). This brick building has an entrance gate projected out with semi-circular arch in middle. The Superintendent of this jail permitted the visit of jail facilities, however, the permission to photograph the interior spaces and prison blocks was not granted. Beyond this entrance building, as one enters the interior part of the jail, a rectangular block faces the entrance building. This brick building has a double heighted hall with wooden pediment roof. Today, this building houses the library facility, space for the meeting of the prisoners with the lawyers and judges, and the rest of the building is mainly used for storage of food and grains. This building is laid out in the centre of the one side of a rectangular garden (see Figure 6.21). An identical building faces this building on its opposite side of the rectangular garden, which houses the on-site hospital facility for the Jail. On both side of these central buildings, beyond the central garden, prison blocks are laid out, three blocks on each side. These six blocks are all one storey brick buildings, and are placed at an angle to these central buildings (see Figure 6.21). These identical blocks have a covered veranda in front of the prison cells. The doors of the cells with steel railings, opening into the front verandas also act as windows admitting

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[27] *District Jail, Sialkot,* (Punjab Prisons, Government of the Punjab), online <https://prisons.punjab.gov.pk/district_jail_sialkot>, [accessed on 18 August 2018].

the light and air in these small cells. There is a separate prison block for the women and also for the children and young prisoners. Further, about a week before, prisoners who have received death sentences are shifted to a secluded separate block with increased security, located near the *phansi-ghat* (a place for hanging).

Figure 6.21 Jail Premises, Sialkot, adjacent to Civil Station.[28]

Figure 6.22 District Jail, Sialkot, showing its main entrance building with additional boundary wall.[29]

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[28] *Map of Sialkot,* (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 16 October 2018].

[29] Photograph by Author.

Central Jail, Montgomery. Central Jail of Montgomery is one of the largest jails in West Punjab, built in 1873. This jail is spread over an area of 70 acres with authorized accommodation of 1565.[30] However, today this jail is overcrowded with about 4002 prisoners (Jail superintendent informed during field visit), even though a new high security prison is recently been added adjacent to it, commissioned in 2015. In present times, this jail has more and increased security measures than any other jails visited during the fieldwork because this jail is housing some of the most dangerous prisoners. The permission was, thus, not even granted to visit the prison blocks located beyond the entrance building of jail. The Jail Superintendent, however, informed me that prison blocks are arranged around a central garden with a watch tower, following the pan-opticon plan, for keeping a close eye on every movement of prisoners, also shown in Figure 6.23. This entrance building housing the administrative offices and other allied facilities is enclosed in an additional boundary wall that separates it from other areas of the jail premises (see Figure 6.24, and Plate 84 in Appendix V). These areas include the DPO residence, and other residential area for jail staff, together with agricultural land, fields and grounds, water supply tanks, and wells (see Plates 85 to 90 in Appendix V). DPO residence in the Jail colony is a single storey brick building, designed like a bungalow. Its rooms have higher roof than the surrounding arcaded veranda. Other residential buildings too in the jail colony are single storey, however, many of the old houses are in dilapidated condition due to ill maintenance, unlike the DPO residence.

Figure 6.23 Central Jail, Montgomery, built in 1873, following Pan-opticon concept.[31]

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[30] *Sahiwal,* (Punjab Prisons, Government of the Punjab), online <https://prisons.punjab.gov.pk/central_jail_sahiwal>, [accessed on 18 August 2018].

[31] *Map of Central Jail, Montgomery,* (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 5 July 2018].

Figure 6.24 Entrance building of Central Jail, Montgomery.[32]

District Jail, Sargodha. District Jail, located along the main Jail Road in Sargodha, was built in 1910. It is spread over an area of 55 acres and 05 kanal, having the jail prison blocks (33 acres, 04 kanal), police lines (03 kanal), residential colony (05 acres, 04 kanal) and agricultural land (16 acres, 02 kanal).[33] When this jail was visited during the fieldwork, the Jail Superintendent informed that the jail was originally planned for around 415 prisoners. Today, this jail has the authorized capacity of 715 prisoners, however, it is housing about 1,400. One approaches the entrance building by following a road after entering the jail premises through its main gate. Entrance building is a single storey building with semi-circular arched gate and an additional boundary wall around the prison blocks (see Figure 6.25, and Plate 91 in Appendix V). This is the only jail that has some double storeyed prison blocks. These blocks, rectangular in plan, are laid out on one side of the prison. Though permission of photography of prison blocks was not granted, the Jail Superintendent provided the photographs (see Plates 92 to 95 in Appendix V). As one enters, one finds prison block laid out on one side with courtyard in the front. These prison blocks have a semi-circular arched veranda in the front. In some blocks, this front veranda is projected out. See Plates 92 to 95 in Appendix V.

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[32] Photograph by Author.

[33] *District Jail, Sargodha,* (Punjab Prisons, Government of the Punjab), online <https://prisons.punjab.gov.pk/district_jail_sargodha>, [accessed on 18 August 2018].

Figure 6.25 District Jail, Sargodha, built in 1910.[34]

District Jail, Sheikhupura. District Jail of Sheikhupura is located along the Kutchery Road, adjacent to the town's civil station, and can be approached directly from the Kutchery Chowk. It was built originally in 1922 with the capacity of 343 prisoners. Today, however, this jail is also overcrowded with 2,107 prisoners, which is well over its allowed capacity of 590.[35] One approaches the main entrance building by following the diagonal road from the entrance gate at Kutchery Chowk (see Figure 6.26). Today, the entrance building is rebuilt in the post-colonial times, but the old photograph provided by the jail superintendent shows a single storey brick block with a semi-circular gate that had a triangular pediment and circular columns on each side of the entrance gate (see Figure 6.27). On entering through this main building, one approaches a big circular garden in the centre, around which there are five prison blocks. Every block is a single storey rectangular building with veranda in front of prison cells. This radial layout of the jail is inspired by the pan-opticon conception that ensured security.[36] See Plates 96 to 100 in Appendix V.

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[34] Photograph by Author.

[35] *District Jail, Sheikhupura,* (Punjab Prisons, Government of the Punjab), online <https://prisons.punjab.gov.pk/district_jail_sheikhupura>, [accessed on 18 August 2018].

[36] Home, p. 47.

Figure 6.26 Map showing the District Jail, Sheikhupura.[37]

Figure 6.27 Old colonial building of District Jail, Sheikhupura.[38]

District Jail, Gujrat. Established in 1930, District Jail of Gujrat is located on Jail Road, adjacent to the civil station of the town. It is spread over an area of 20 acres and 4 kanal, having the jail (15 acres), police lines (3 acres), and jail residential colony (2 acres, 4 kanal). This jail has an authorized capacity of 385 prisoners, however, today it houses 1,407 prisoners.[39] This jail like District Jail of Sheikhupura and Central Jail of Sahiwal is designed in a circle, with one storey prison cells around the central watch tower and circular garden (see Figure 6.28). Entrance building to the Jail has a projected semi-

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[37] *Map of Sheikhupura,* (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 16 October 2018].

[38] Courtesy: Jail Superintendent, District Jail, Sheikhupura.

[39] *District Jail, Gujrat,* (Punjab Prisons, Government of the Punjab), online <https://prisons.punjab.gov.pk/district_jail_gujrat>, [accessed on 18 August 2018].

circular arched gateway with a triangular pediment on top (see Figure 6.29, and Plate 101 in Appendix V). Though the permission was granted to visit the prison blocks, the photography of the interior of the jail was not allowed. These prison blocks were one storey brick building with semi-circular arched veranda, and each block had a separate entrance. The building, on one side of the entrance building outside the prison block premises, was photographed and was observed to be very similar to the buildings of prison blocks (see Plate 102 in Appendix V).

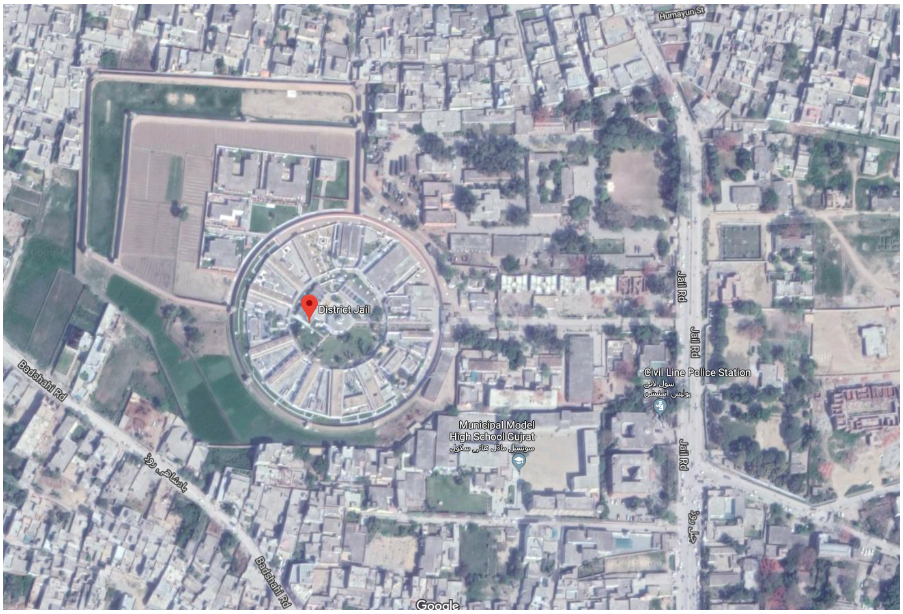

Figure 6.28 Map showing the District Jail, Gujrat.[40]

Figure 6.29 District Jail, Gujrat.[41]

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[40] *Map of Gujrat,* (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 16 October 2018].

[41] Photograph by Author.

Recreational Buildings

Other than the public buildings of the civil administrative offices, police lines and jails, the civil stations of few of these towns also have separate club buildings. Club buildings were usually exclusive to the British officials in early times of the British rule, towards the ending years of British Raj in India, however, the bureaucratic officers of Indian origins, who had been selected after passing the I.C.S. (Indian Civil Service) Examination were also allowed in these club buildings. These club buildings mainly provided the spaces for the social lives of the British officers, serving in the town and the district. Other than the indoor hall for entertainment and evening life of the officials, these clubs also provided indoor and outdoor sports facilities. These clubs are often planned adjacent to the Company Bagh, the land from these parks contributed towards the development of these club facilities during the colonial time. In addition, clubs were mostly developed by the financial support of the serving officers in the district as well as the donation from the rich and affluent of the region. These club buildings are modest one or two storey brick structures with main hall and rooms adjacent to the green lawns.

Chenab Club, Lyallpur. Established for the officers serving in the new town and district of Lyallpur, the Chenab Club at Lyallpur is one of the oldest club facilities developed in the region of West Punjab, in 1910. No native was allowed in Chenab Club until 1942. During the British times, Chenab Club gradually occupied a prominent position in the social life of the European officials residing in the town (discussed in Chapter 5). In the present post-colonial times, Chenab Club has retained its importance in the bureaucratic classes of the town, and has emerged as a renowned officer's club with distinguishing facilities and service, second only to the Gymkhana Club Lahore in the Punjab of Pakistan. Today, this club is further expanded with new buildings added and attached to its old colonial building (see Figure 6.30). It now also offers new services including guest rooms, halls for conferences and marriages, Cineplex, gymnasium, bowling alleys, billiard rooms, squash complex, dining halls, and outdoor café'.[42] The original building of the club was established in March 1910 in the premises of about 9 acres, located on the Mall Road adjacent to the Company Bagh (see Figure 6.15). It was constructed from a monetary contribution from the British officials serving in the region.[43]

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[42] *About Us,* (The Chenab Club), online <http://thechenabclub.com/about-us/>, [accessed on 19 August 2018].

[43] Ishfaque Bokhari, *Lyallpur Kahani: Chenab Club* (Faisalabad: Sangrila Printers and Publishers, 2003), pp. 67-69.

The club building, completed in 1912, was a simple yet elegant structure, designed in modern style. It was planned in the form of letter "H" with rooms on both sides of the central courtyard. Front wing of the old club building facing the road side is a double storey brick building, with the covered pillared veranda in front of its rooms towards courtyard (see Plate 103 in Appendix V). These pillars are circular in plan and devoid of any embellishment except for a simple base on ground floor. The rest of the building also has no embellishment. Other wing across the courtyard, however, has double heighted rooms than the corridor and the front pillared portico. The front portico is single storey with low roof, square-shaped pillars and rectangular archways (see Plates 104 to 106 in Appendix V). In middle of the double heighted rooms, there is a semi-circular element with the inscription of the club name and date of establishment. It has billiard room, and lawn tennis courts. There was also a bar in one room, while the big hall for sitting was sometimes used as a dance floor. The importance of this club in built and social environment of town of Lyallpur is discussed in Chapter 5.

Figure 6.30 Chenab Club, Lyallpur, showing its old colonial and new post-colonial buildings.[44]

Jhang Club, Jhang: Jhang Club is located on Kutchery Road in front of the DCO Office and adjacent to Company Bagh in civil station of Jhang (see Figure 6.3). Today, it is called Officers' Club and is used mostly for marriage ceremonies by the rich and affluent classes of this town.[45] Originally, however, this club was built for social life of European

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[44] Photograph by Author.

[45] Tahir Kamra, *The City of Jhang,* (The News), online <http://tns.thenews.com.pk/city-of-jhang/#.W3lYfvlKiUk>, [accessed on 19 August 2018].

officers serving in town and district of Jhang. Its foundation stone was laid by R. Geoffrey de Montmorency, on 15 April 1927 (see Figure 6.31). The club building stands on its own land plot with a boundary wall. As on enters the club premises, a road on one side of plot leads to club building. There is a large garden in front that creates foreground between Kutchery Road and the club building. The building is laid out with its side towards the front garden, and has a paved area in front of its main entrance. It is a single storey brick structure, plastered and painted (see Figure 6.32). Rectangular in plan, this building has main hall and other rooms with a covered veranda in front of main entrance. The middle of veranda is projected out than its sides and has three pointed arches on its front and one on each of its sides. The middle hall of building is heighted that allows space for ventilators, and a brick cornice runs on top. The embellishment on top of front veranda in its middle seems to be inspired from Art Nouveau movement of the last nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It also has a name of Jhang Club and its establishment date inscribed in centre. This embellishment is destroyed off on its one corner which reflects the poor maintenance of building during post-colonial times. See Plates 107 to 112 in Appendix V.

Figure 6.31 Foundation Stone of Jhang Club, Jhang.[46]

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[46] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.32 Jhang Club, Jhang.[47]

Infrastructural Buildings

Other than public buildings of the civil administration, police lines and jail premises, and club buildings, there were also other infrastructural buildings in, adjacent or in close proximity to the civil stations of these towns. In addition also to the wide network of canals spread out in West Punjab, bridges and roads, other infrastructural structures included buildings of *dak* Bungalows, post offices, and railway stations. These infrastructural buildings facilitated the role of the town (discussed in Chapter 3), and also impacted on the urban form of these towns (discussed in Chapters 4 and 5). As the trade of the agricultural production grew under the colonial government, economy of these towns started to become as much dependent on these infrastructural facilities as the civil and military administration, providing significant connectivity and communication throughout the region.

dak Bungalows. Various government departments, including canal irrigation department, health department, educational department, and public works department, all have their own *dak* Bungalows in various towns. These *dak* bungalows were basically *serai* (inns or rest houses) for the stay of the officers traveling for official purposes. One such *dak* Bungalow is located on the main Lahore-Sargodha Road in the civil station of Sheikhupura. The location of this *dak* Bungalow on the main road that connects this

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[47] Photograph by Author.

headquarter town of Sheikhupura with the other district headquarter Sargodha and Provincial Capital of Lahore facilitate its function as rest house. It is housed in a spacious land plot with a garden in the front. The building is a single storey brick structure designed in a pure western Neo-classical style (see Figure 6.33). It has exposed brickwork, painted light yellow, while its various projected elements are painted in red. The main entrance in the middle of the front façade is a projected out portico with round columns in the pair of two. The rooms have high roof than their surrounding verandas that allow high ventilators. The veranda has semi-circular arches with square pillars. The corridor view shows the building's roof structure with wooden beams, while the floor has the tiles installed in recent times. See Plates 113 to 118 in Appendix V.

Figure 6.33 Dak Bungalow, Sheikhupura.[48]

Other Infrastructural Facilities. Near railway stations, one also finds other facilities: post and telegraph offices, and supporting structures like railway bridges. Majority of post offices in these headquarter towns are now been rebuilt, however, one colonial post office can be found in town of Lyallpur, located near the Railway Station of Lyallpur (see Figure 6.34). This post office building is a simple brick building with rectangular plan, cornice, and rectangular windows and doors. Though this building is one storey, its front rooms have a roof lower than rooms located on its back. There is also an old post box fixed on road outside this building, painted red with inscription in white paint (see Figure 6.34). Other examples of surviving post boxes of colonial times can be found

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[48] Photograph by Author.

on road side outside Railway Station of Montgomery, and on platform of Railway Station of Sheikhupura (see Plates 119 and 120 in Appendix V). While, one example of an old railway bridge is found at Aik Nullah of Sialkot (see Figure 6.35). It is a brick structure with steel rail lines indicating 1927 as its construction year. The bridge has three oblong columns with exposed brickwork, on top of which steel bridge beams are resting (see Plates 121 to 124 in Appendix V).

Figure 6.34 Post Office building with post box, at town of Lyallpur.[49]

Figure 6.35 Railway Bridge at Aik Nullah, Sialkot.[50]

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[49] Photograph by Author.

[50] Photograph by Author.

Railway Stations. Railway Stations of these headquarter towns were part of the North Western Railways during the colonial period. On one hand, its rail tracks connected the State Capital of Delhi in the East to the west all the way to North Western Frontier Capital of Peshawar via the Punjab's capital of Lahore, while on the other hand, it connected the summer capital of Shimla, Kashmir and other hill stations like Murree in the North to the sea ports of Karachi and Bombay through the Punjab's agricultural lands, and market towns. The initiative of the Railway in North India was taken in 1858 when Sir Henry Edward Frere, Commissioner of Sindh, saw the potential of Karachi as a sea port. This initial proposal was to lay out the rail track from Karachi to Kotri, with steam navigation from Kotri all the way up to Multan, and then a railway track all the way from Multan to Lahore and beyond to the hill stations in the North and to Kashmir. The first line was opened for public from Karachi to Kotri in 1861. From then onwards the connection and communication was developed through various railway lines (main lines and branch lines) between Karachi and Peshawar through the Punjab, and Baluchistan, during late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Initially four sections: Scinde Railways, Indian Flotilla Company, Punjab Railway, and Delhi Railways were working as a single company of Scinde, Punjab and Delhi Railways. This was purchased in 1885 by the State and was called North Western State Railways in 1886, later renamed as North Western Railways. At the time of partition in 1947, it had 5,048 miles of the railway lines. Out of this 5,048 miles, some were dual and others were single lines of either the main or branch lines connecting various market and headquarter towns of the North Frontier Region, Kashmir, Punjab, Baluchistan and Sindh to the seaport of Karachi.[51] All the railway stations of the district headquarter towns of the Punjab under study are located on either the Multan-Lahore Section or the Lahore-Peshawar Section. The presence of the railway stations in these towns affected the towns' functioning as a district headquarter, facilitating their role as an administrative and economic centre (discussed in detail in Chapter 3). The location of railway station in the town also affected its urban form, often defining the town limits during the colonial time (discussed in Chapters 4 and 5). The main building of the station is typically a single storey brick structure housing the offices of the railway staff, lounges for the passengers, with the separation for the native and foreign, lower and upper class passengers. The station platforms also have steel structures providing covered waiting spaces to passengers, and

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[51] *Pak Rails,* (Pakistan Railways), online <https://www.pakrail.gov.pk/AboutUs.aspx>, [accessed on 23 August 2018].

steel bridges connecting one platform to the other. Today, these railways stations are functional, but the condition of their buildings reflect the ill-maintenance and little efforts to upgrade the railway facilities according to modern standards. This section will discuss the colonial architecture of these railway stations in the selected headquarter towns.

Railway Station, Gujranwala. Railway Station of Gujranwala is located on main single line of Lahore-Peshawar Section, coming from capital city of Lahore and going to divisional headquarter of Rawalpindi, along Grand Trunk Road. There is only one platform along the long rectangular station building with the entrance in the middle, having a higher roof (see Figure 6.36, and Plate 125 of Appendix V). Its roadside façade has three semi-circular archways. These arches have wooden *jalli*, the condition of which tells the story of its neglect. The vegetation coming out of roof is also noticeable. In between semi-circular archways, there are two circular ventilators with *jalli*. On top, there are marble plates on which the station name has now faded away. This entrance portico separates the station platform from the busy Grand Trunk Road, acting as a buffer space between the two. The view, length and breadth of the station building is clearer from the platform (see Figure 6.37, and Plates 126 and 127 of Appendix V). Its rooms house the offices and waiting rooms opening into a covered veranda towards the platform, and have segmental-arched ventilators, and a brick-patterned cornice. This veranda has tilted steel roof, lower in height, resting on square-based brick pillars (see Plate 128 of Appendix V). On other side of the platform, the residential areas that has grown up in recent times, is in close proximity to the railway track (see Plate 129 of Appendix V).

Figure 6.36 Railway Station, Gujranwala, showing its roadside façade.[52]

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[52] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.37 Railway Station, Gujranwala, showing its platform side façade.[53]

Railway Station, Gujrat. Next to Wazirabad Junction, on the same main single line of Lahore-Peshawar Section as Gujranwala's Railway Station, is the Railway Station of Gujrat. It is located along Kerla Dewan Singh Road, at one end of Railway Road that connects it with civil station of Gujrat (see Figure 6.38), and defined the new limits of this town during the British times (discussed in Chapter 4). The station has three platforms, which are connected through a steel bridge, a steel plate on its top dates back to 1906 (see Plate 130 in Appendix V). The main building is a long rectangular single storey building with exposed brick walls that are whitewashed. The entrance is located on one side in its projected double heighted part (see Figure 6.39). It has rectangular windows and openings that seem to have been added quite haphazardly in later post-colonial times (see Plates 131 and 132 in Appendix V). Approaching the platform through main entrance, one finds a steel structure attached to this building, providing shade and waiting area for passengers. The arched wooden doorways and windows in main building towards platform further confirm addition of windows and doors without any consideration of original design in roadside façade. There are also long rectangular ventilators with wooden frames and *jalli* for provision of light and air. This station has a long platform and as one moves towards steel bridge that connects its platforms, one finds another brick building on a side to main building. This building is rectangular in plan, and has a double heighted hall. It provides another entry point into the station through its large semi-circular archway. Some of its archways are filled in with brickwork

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[53] Photograph by Author.

to limit entry points. Further ahead is an abandoned steel structure on this platform with a triangular roof, the steel of which is decaying gradually due to non-usage and neglect. There is also a steel structure on other platforms with semi-circular roofs providing waiting area for passengers. Beyond the platform three, the nearby grown up residential area of town in recent times is visible. See Plates 133 to 140 in Appendix V.

Figure 6.38 Map showing the Railway Station, Gujrat.[54]

Figure 6.39 Railway Station, Gujrat.[55]

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[54] *Map of Gujrat,* (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 16 October 2018].
[55] Photograph by Author.

Railway Stations, Jhang. There are two railway stations in Jhang, one is for the old town and other is for the Sadar area i.e., civil station. Both are located on a single branch of the Shortkot-Lalamusa line, originally constructed in 1881. The Sadar Station is located at the end of Station Road coming from the Station Chowk, road junction at the main Jhang-Toba Tek Singh Road and Civil Lines S.S.P. Road, near to the civil station. While the Jhang City Station is located further away on the other side of the civil station, along its old Chiniot Road, near the old walled town of Jhang. This station is connected to the *Kutchery* through old Chiniot Road at Ayub Chowk, road junction at the main roads of Jhang Road, Kot Road, Sargodha-Jhang-Multan Road, Old Chiniot Road, Faislabad-Jhang Road and Kutchery Road. See Figure 6.40 for location of these two stations.

The Railway Station at Sadar has three single storey brick buildings, raised above the road on about a three feet high platform. The building at one end, almost a square in plan, used today as the main entrance building to the station (see Figure 6.41). It was probably the entrance for the second class passengers only during the colonial times, as indicated on its name plates. This building has three big semi-circular archways with square based pillars in between, with circular ventilators above these pillars. The interior view shows a well-lit space with light and air admitting through its archways and openings, and a roof with semi-circular barrel structures supported on additional steel columns. There are benches for passengers and also a ticketing booth on one end. The other buildings, like this entrance building are also single storey brick structures. The middle building houses the offices of the station staff, while the side building now houses the post office. The middle building is rectangular in plan, having a low roof veranda towards the platform. This veranda has semi-circular arches with square brick pillars. Today, a parapet has been added on top of this building. This station has three platforms, which are connected through a steel bridge. See Plates 141 to 147 in Appendix V.

City Station of Jhang is much smaller station than Sadar Station, with only one platform. This station building is a single storey rectangular brick structure, raised on about a three feet high platform (see Figure 6.42). Today, however, entrance through this building is restricted for passengers. After getting a ticket from room window at corner of this building, one enters the platform from its adjacent side through a wooden gate. The roadside façade shows its segmental-arched windows and door, with cornice on top. Towards the platform, this building has one side projected out with arched veranda. The veranda is raised from platform level, and has semi-circular arches with rectangular brick pillars. The inscription in middle of this veranda indicates 1905 as the year of construction. On other side of platform, there is a boundary wall built to separate it from an adjacent factory. There is also an old steel structure outside the station building, with a brick wall on one side and a triangular steel roof. See Plates 148 to 152 in Appendix V.

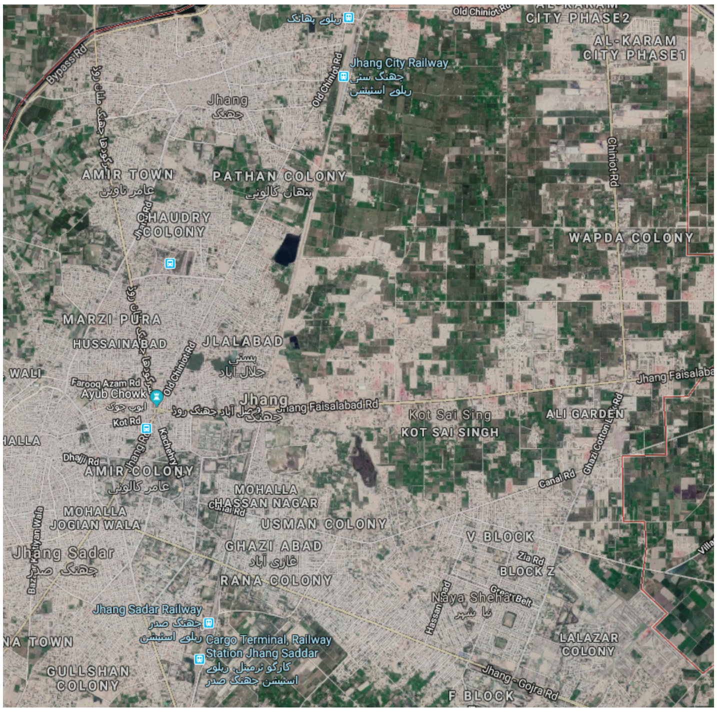

Figure 6.40 Map showing the location of two railway stations, in Jhang.[56]

Figure 6.41 Railway Station, Sadar, Jhang.[57]

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[56] *Map of Jhang,* (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 26 September 2018].

[57] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.42 Railway Station, Jhang City.[58]

Railway Station, Lyallpur. Railway Station at the new town of Lyallpur is located on the single branch line of the Khanewal-Wazirabad Railway. This line was originally named as Wazirabad-Multan Railway, and was surveyed, constructed and opened between 1892 and 1899. The Railway Station at Lyallpur was opened in 1896, and is located along the Railway Station Road-and-Rajbah Road, in front of the Station Chowk and Mall Road (see Figure 6.43). This station has three platforms, and has separate ticketing counters and waiting halls for second class and premium class passengers. Today, however, the station has five platforms and two additional platforms for locomotive services and maintenance. The station's main building is a long rectangular brick building, raised on a platform from the road level (see Figure 6.44). Its entrance is a bit projected out and is almost double in height than the rest of the building, having a triangular pediment on top and two circular columns. However, this triangular pediment together with circular columns seems to be the recent addition, visible in the rear view of the building from the steel bridge of the station. The building has rectangular windows with projected rectangular shades. One also notices semi-circular arched openings, some of which are filled in with bricks. Towards the platform, there is a steel structure attached to this station building, serving as the waiting area for the passengers. There are also steel bridges that connect its different platforms. Another two storey brick building on the station houses the old control room, and waiting area. See Plates 153 to 158 in Appendix V.

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[58] Photograph by Author.

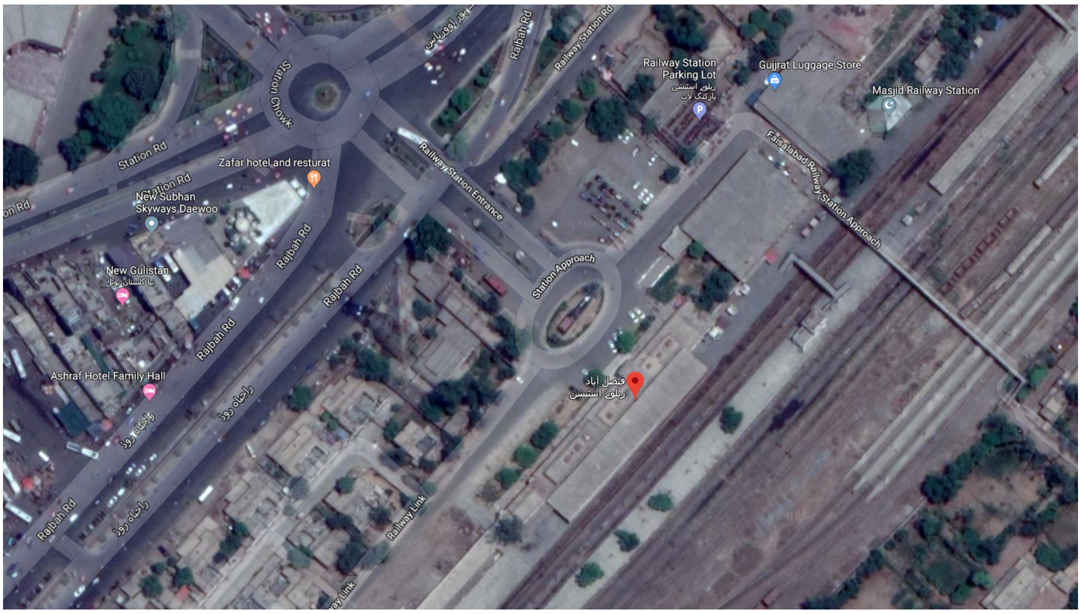

Figure 6.43 Map showing the Railway Station, Lyallpur.[59]

Figure 6.44 Railway Station, Lyallpur.[60]

Railway Station, Montgomery. The Railway Station of Montgomery is located on main dual line of Multan-Lahore section, about mid-way between divisional capital cities of Multan and Lahore. This railway line section was opened in 1861. In this new town, the Station became limit of colonial town on its southern side (discussed in Chapter 5). It is located across the Lower Bari Doab (LBD) Canal along the Canal Road, and is

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[59] *Map of Lyallpur*, (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 5 July 2018].
[60] Photograph by Author.

approached through Railway Road Bridge which connects it to civil station (see Figure 6.45). There is a paved area, serving as a parking lot, in front of station building with circular green area. Main station building is a long rectangular single storey brick structure with a barrel roof (see Figure 6.46). The entrance from the middle is through a rectangular archway. On façade of its one side wing, one notices semi-circular arches recessed in between square brick pillars that seem to be filled in with brickwork later to create room spaces and have rectangular windows. There is also recessed brick openings in middle of pillars for roof drainage. Near the corner, there are two projected rectangular elements with brick cornice. The barrel roof with triangular pediments at its sides have wind towers projected out for provision of light and air. Towards the platform, this building has a semi-circular arched veranda and square pillars with recessions for roof drainage. There is also a semi-circular element in the middle on top of cornice, with curved patterns painted green, reflecting the influence of art nouveau movement. The three station platforms are linked by a steel bridge. Across the railway tracks, one can see the steel structure providing shaded waiting space for the passengers. There is another rectangular brick building across the third platform housing the offices and workshops for railway repair. This building is similar in style to the main station building, having semi-circular arches, recessed roof drainage in the brickwork and barrel roof with triangular pediment on sides. There are also much smaller rectangular buildings on this station, which are marked 'not in use' presently. See Plates 159 to 171 in Appendix V.

Figure 6.45 Map showing the Railway Station, Montgomery.[61]

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[61] *Map of Montgomery*, (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 5 July 2018].

Figure 6.46 Railway Station, Montgomery.[62]

Railway Station, Sargodha. The Railway Station at Sargodha is a railway junction at single branch line of Shorkot-LalaMusa. This branch line was mainly constructed in 1881. The station is located at the end of Railway Road coming from Shama Chowk, road junction at main Railway Road, Masood Zahid Road, Stadium Road, and Club Road, through which it is connected with civil station (see Figure 6.47). There is paved area in front of station building with a small circular green area and a parking on one side. There is also another rectangular steel shed with triangular pediment roof which has waiting hall with booking office for second class passengers. The main building is a single storey rectangular brick structure having a covered portico with square columns (see Figure 6.48). It is raised on about a three feet high platform, and has rectangular doors, windows and ventilators. Towards the platform, a steel structure is attached to it, providing waiting space for passengers. There is a similar steel structure on other platforms that are connected through a steel bridge. See Plates 172 to 177 in Appendix V.

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[62] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.47 Map showing Railway Station, Sargodha.[63]

Figure 6.48 Railway Station, Sargodha.[64]

Railway Station, Sheikhupura. The Railway Station at the Qila Sheikhupura is also a railway junction. It is last station of the single branch line of Shorkot-Sheikhupura that was constructed between 1906 and 1911. This station is located on the main Malik Anwar Road in front of Company Bagh and Station Chowk, at the junction of this road

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[63] *Map of Sargodha*, (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 5 July 2018].

[64] Photograph by Author.

with Johar Road and Railway Road, connecting it to the *Kutchery* of Sheikhupura (see Figure 6.49). The main station building is laid out with the paved area in front that acts as its parking lot. On its one side, there is a rectangular brick structure with semi-circular arched openings for the second class passengers' waiting and ticket booking (see Plates 178 and 179 in Appendix V). The station's main building is a long rectangular brick structure, raised on about a five feet high platform, with an entrance in the middle (see Figure 6.50). One can enter from any of the two semi-circular archways. There is a circular ventilator with *jalli* and a name plate of the station on top below the cornice. The front rooms of one side wing are projected out and have lower roof than the back rooms, giving building a stepped façade. On the other side wing, only a small portion adjacent to entrance is projected out. The rooms on the back are aligned with and of same height to the entrance. All the windows and ventilators in the side wings of the front facade are rectangular. The building's façade towards the platform has a middle entrance projected out, identical in design to main entrance with its semi-circular archways and circular ventilator. The side wings on both sides have veranda with low roof, and has semi-circular arches and square brick pillar. This platform is connected with the other platforms by a steel bridge, while there is also a steel shed on other platforms for waiting passengers. One also observes a steel railing installed in the middle of rail tracks probably to restrict the movement of the people between the tracks. See Plates 180 to 188 in Appendix V.

Figure 6.49 Map showing the Railway Station, Sheikhupura.[65]

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[65] *Map of Sheikhupura,* (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 16 October 2018].

Figure 6.50 Railway Station, Sheikhupura.[66]

Railway Station, Sialkot. Sialkot Railway Station is a railway junction on single branch line of Wazirabad-Narowal railway line. It is located along Railway Road through Allama Iqbal Chowk, road junction at Railway Road, Trunk Bazar Road, Gur Mandi Bazar Road, and Kutchery Road, connecting it with civil station and bazars of Sialkot (see Figure 6.51). Main building is laid out at a distance from road with a parking lot. It is a long rectangular, one storey brick building, with entrance through a covered portico having semi-circular arches and brick pillars (see Figure 6.52). Its semi-circular arches are more clearly visible in interior of waiting halls. There is a steel shed attached to it towards the platform. This platform is connected to other platforms by steel bridge. There are steel sheds on other platforms as well and an abandoned shed located on one side of main building, with triangular pediment roof on its brick walls and square columns. See Plates 189 to 200 in Appendix V.

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[66] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.51 Map showing Railway Station, Sialkot.[67]

Figure 6.52 Railway Station, Sialkot.[68]

6.2.2 Architecture of Economy: Public and Semi-Public Buildings in Bazaars

During colonial rule, the British influenced economic environment of the Punjab. The policies were made to increase the agricultural production of the Punjab and the laws were established for the economy, trade and industry (discussed in detail in Chapter 2). Ultimately, the cities, towns and villages of the Punjab, their agricultural and industrial produce, were linked to the world markets. The Punjab emerged as the most market oriented agricultural province of Asia by the end of the Empire rule in 1947. In the

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[67] *Map of Sialkot,* (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 16 October 2018].

[68] Photograph by Author.

studied headquarter towns, the old bazaars in their walled area flourished while the new markets emerged in their civil stations and cantonments with new industries and businesses. In their old and new bazaars, new street mansions were built with shops on ground floors and residences on top floors. Besides these semi-public buildings, the bazaar streets and squares also experienced the establishment of new monumental structures like town gates and clock towers which propagated new values of discipline and control of the British rulers. Both the monuments and semi-public spaces of the bazars became part and parcel of everyday life of the town dwellers. These monuments were both in western styles and hybrid styles incorporating the local architectural features. The hybrid style was most noticeable in the street mansions of the bazaar, depicting the desires of the native elite and emerging local business classes to live like their new foreign rulers while remaining connected to their traditional ways and values. This section will discuss the architecture of these public and semi-public buildings in the bazars of selected headquarter towns.

Monuments

The monuments in bazaars of these towns mainly include the clock towers (or *Ghanta Ghar* as these are called in local language). These clock towers were erected as a symbol of order and discipline of the British Empire, inculcating the new values of the colonial rulers in the everyday life of the town dwellers. Chan has argued how these colonial structures of clock towers not only displayed the time but also represented the ethical transformation of native Asian societies to discipline and efficiency by spreading new western values in the wider landscapes.[69] Further, these clock towers were mostly built as memorials for a British monarch, acting as the symbol of the glorification of the British Raj, together with justifying the empire's rule through the spread of modern values of time and efficiency. The architecture of these clock towers followed both the pure western styles of architecture as well as the hybrid architectural style incorporating both the western and eastern elements in their design. These clock towers also gave a unique identity to the town. For instance, the town of Lyallpur even today is well-known for its *Ghanta Ghar.*

Clock Tower, Lyallpur. Among clock towers of the headquarter towns of West Punjab, the first to be built is the renowned Clock Tower of Lyallpur, which has now acquired

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[69] Catherine S. Chan, 'Belonging to the City: Representations of a Colonial Clock Tower in British Hong Kong', in *Journal of Urban History*, (2018), 1-12 (p. 2).

the status of the main identity of the town in the whole region, a market town with a *Ghanta Ghar*. Situation in middle of the crowded Bazaar Square, this clock tower has eight bazaars around it (see Figure 6.53). This clock tower was erected after bazaars of the town had already been laid out (discussed in detail in Chapter 5). It was built as a memorial to the Empress Queen Victoria. On 14 November 1903, Sir Charles Montgomery Rivaz, Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, inaugurated the construction of this clock tower which was completed by 1905. Though the clock tower was the symbol of the British Raj, erected to glorify the reign of Queen Victoria, its construction was mainly financed by the donation of Rupees 40,000 by this town's inhabitants. Built in red sandstone that came from Agra, this clock tower has a slab of white marble above each of its four doors. The inscription on this marble slab mentions the erection of this clock tower by town dwellers for the Queen Victoria. Further, on each corner is written 'VR' (Victoria Regina), a symbol of the rule of Queen Victoria, mostly inscribed on official documentation and posts. See Plates 1 to 4 in Appendix VI.

Designed in a hybrid style, western Classical incorporating Mughal architectural elements, this clock tower at Lyallpur is square in plan and has four storeys. The four side of tower are symmetrical in design, and its various features are made prominent with different paint colours i.e. white or light brown. On each side of ground floor, there is a semi-circular arch opening that has a *jalli*, and a wooden door with windows on sides. There is also a sandstone railing below sill-level of window. This semi-circular arch has two Corinthian-styled columns on both sides, each column has a pedestal, base, shaft, and capital. An entablature with decorated frieze and a pediment rests on these two columns on each side of the tower. There is a decorative element on top of pediment that resembles fountain heads in a Mughal garden. First floor has a smaller arched window with sandstone *jalli*, and a sandstone slab at sill level. On each side of window, there is a patterned decoration in Mughal style on the wall, painted white. There are also floral patterns above the window and arch. A decorated cornice run on top of this floor. The Mughal styled pattern on wall continues on the storey above. The rectangular window on this second floor has a sandstone balcony, and a floral patterned decoration above its lintel level. Third floor is divided into two equal parts. Its lower level has a circular clock with Roman letters, with a curvilinear pattern on four corners of this clock. The clock for the tower was brought from Bombay. There is a stylized patterned cornice between this level and upper part of this floor. The upper part of this floor has three small semi-circular arched windows with decorated frames. Above these windows is an embellished cornice, with a round window and patterned *jalli*. A circular dome rests on top with an embellishment in middle that resembles dome of a *masjid* (mosque). There used to be a flag of the British Empire hanging on it during colonial times. Besides, access to tower from stairs is blocked for citizens in present times. This clock tower can be viewed from main roads of the surrounding bazaars of Lyallpur and has emerged as one of the most renowned monuments of colonial times, found in headquarter towns of the Punjab, Pakistan. See Plates 5 to 13 in Appendix VI.

Figure 6.53 Clock Tower, Lyallpur.[70]

Clock Tower, Gujranwala. After Lyallpur, *Ghanta Ghar* in old walled town of Gujranwala, built in 1906, followed quite a different architectural style. Located in bazaar area, this clock tower was built at a road junction of Circular Road, Baghbanpura Road and Guru Nanak Road, by E.A. Estcourt, Deputy Commissioner of Gujranwala, who laid out its foundation stone in December 1905. Naz laments the dilapidated condition

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[70] Photograph by Author.

of this tower in post-colonial times, and also points to burning of this tower as a part of protest against Jalianwala Bagh incident in 1919 by inhabitants of Gujranwala.[71] This clock tower follows a hybrid style of architecture that incorporates lotus motifs of Hindu and Sikh architecture into its rather western architectural form (see Figure 6.54). This 101 feet high clock tower is octagonal in plan and is constructed with red bricks. Each of its seven storeys have varying height, but all have gothic arched wall recessions and windows. Due to rise of surrounding road level, today, ground floor is hardly visible. Top storey below the dome has clocks with Roman numbers on four out of its eight sides. The pyramidal dome resembles a *shikra* in temple with lotus motifs on its starting and ending points. *Ghanta Ghar*, though neglected in present times, is visible from a distance due to its height and gives unique identity to this neighbourhood of Gujranwala, famous due to presence of this clock tower. See Plates 14 to 18 in Appendix VI.

Figure 6.54 *Ghanta Ghar*, Gujranwala.[72]

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[71] Naz, Neelam, 'Historic Perspective of Clock Towers in Pakistan: Estcourt Clock Tower, Gujranwala', in *Journal of Landscape Architecture (LA), New Delhi, India* 24, (2009), 85-92.

[72] Photograph by Author.

Clock Tower, Sialkot. Much later, another clock tower was built at Sialkot in 1921-1922 to commemorate the visit of Edward, Prince of Wales, to India. *Ghanta Ghar* at Sialkot is situation in the Sadar Bazar of its cantonment, along main Allama Iqbal Road which connects it to civil station on one side and to cantonment on the other. Today, this clock tower is standing alone in middle of a road junction, called Iqbal Square (see Figure 6.55). However, there used to be a Hindu temple next to it, which was destroyed during the riots in 1992 as a reaction to destruction of Babri Mosque in Ayodhya, India.[73] This clock tower is similar in design to the clock tower of Lyallpur, following western classical style while incorporating Indian architectural features in its hybrid style of architecture. It too has a square plan, semi-circular openings, and a circular dome on top. This brick structure is renovated in recent times, keeping its original design and form intact. Resting on a raised marble platform, this clock tower have six floors and each side symmetrical to the other. The lower two floors have broader square base than upper storeys. On ground floor, there is a semi-circular door in middle, the floor above, also has a similar semi-circular window with wooden frames. These two lower storeys have a projected out brick walls on corners. Each storey has its own cornice with tapered roof shade. The upper three storeys have similar semi-circular windows with wooden frames. The fifth floor, however, has two small semi-circular windows instead of one big semi-circular window. This storey has a circular clock with Roman numbers on each side above its two small windows. The upper most floor has a rectangular opening on each side, and has curvilinear roof on its corners, like a petal, above which a semi-circular dome rests on an octagonal base. This dome has a lotus petals embellishment on its base from which the ribs of dome converges to a heighted centre. One notices the growth of vegetation around this dome, pinpointing poor maintenance in present times. See Plates 19 to 26 in Appendix VI.

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[73] Tania Qureshi, *The Sialkot Clock Tower: A Centuries Old Landmark,* (Pakistan Today), online <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2018/04/20/the-sialkot-clock-tower-a-centuries-old-landmark/>, [accessed on 29 August 2018].

Figure 6.55 Clock Tower, Sialkot.[74]

Town Gates. Besides the clock towers, town gates were rebuilt during the British rule and also new gates were erected in the bazaars of the headquarter towns under study. Unlike imposing gateways of monumental scale erected in capital cities of British India, in comparison, these gates in headquarter towns were modest in scale. These gateways were also imitating the designs of the monumental gateways of the Mughal times and of big cities in their designs, built mostly in bricks. The decorative motifs in these gates are much simpler, basic embellishments that are workmanship of local artisans and craftsmen. Two such gates are located in the town of Gujranwala, i.e., Brandreth Gate and Lahori Gate. These two gates were originally the gates of the walled city of the Gujranwala during the Sikh Period. After annexation of Punjab 1849, Colonel Clark, Deputy Commissioner Gujranwala, started the rebuilding of old town. These two surviving town gates of the colonial times were, however, added by Arthur Brandreth,

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[74] Photograph by Author.

another Deputy Commissioner of Gujranwala, during 1869, on site of the original gates of Sikh times.[75] Originally named Sialkoti Gate for it faces towards the town of Sialkot. Brendreth Gate is entrance to a busy bazar of old town from the main highway of Grand Trunk Road in Gujranwala. It is a red brick structure with a double arched gateway that resembles the Mughal gateway architectural style. The outer arch is multi-foil with floral embellishment, while inner arch is pointed and lower in height. On top, there is a band in the brickwork with marble plate in centre, the inscription has name of the gate on it. However, an old photograph of this gateway, by an unknown in 1869, available at the British Library London, shows the gateway with a much higher and elaborated cornice than what is presently noticed in the gate today.[76] There were two octagonal columns like *minars* on each side with embellished brickwork, and surrounding building attached to this gateway also appeared to have only one-storey. Today, however, the corner columns are immersed, almost disappeared in the adjacent three-storey street mansions with shops on its ground floor. On one side, one can see the remains of the two sides of the octagonal *minars* with lotus-floral pattern in its brickwork. See Figure 6.56 and Plates 27 to 30 in Appendix VI.

Similar in design, however, more simple in appearance and scale, is the nearby located Lahori Gate, further ahead on the Grand Trunk Road, in Gujranwala. This gate too is double-arched, with outer and bigger multi-foil arch and inner arch a low heighted one. The gate, however, appears to have been completely renovated in recent post-colonial times with brick cladding of *Gotka*, and has no embellishment (see Figure 6.57, and Plate 31 in Appendix VI).

Another prominent gate built during colonial times is the Qaiseri Gate located in Lyallpur. This gate stands at the entrance to the one of the town's busy market, Rail Bazaar (see Figure 6.58). This gate was built in 1897 as a memorial to Queen Victoria, by a local resident, Lala Mohan Lal, (son of the famous Doctor Bahaduri Lal). This gateway was named Qaiseri Gate, after the title "Qaiser-e-Hind" of Queen Victoria, which means Empress of India. This brick gate is built in a Mughal style, with a central

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[75] Neelum Naz, and Shabih-ul-Hassan Zaidi, 'Historic Perspective of Urban Development of Gujranwala' in *Journal of Research in Architecture and Planning, NED University of Technology, Karachi* 14, Pt. 1 (Jan-Jun 2013), 21-38. Also see, Abdul Rehman, *Historic towns of Punjab: Ancient and Medieval Period* (Lahore, Ferozsons, 1997), p. 258.

[76] *Old photograph of Brendreth Gate,* (British Library, London), online <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/s/019pho0000211s1u00066000.html>, [accessed on 18 October 2018].

archway higher than the side archways. All the arches of this gate are multi-foil and a cornice with petal-floral patterned low parapet runs on top. There is also brick patterned *jalli* on top of smaller side archways. Five small domical elements, like *gumbd* (dome of the mosque), rests on top of the side and central gateways. The middle *gumbd* is highest, raised on the rectangular platform with a marble plate, mentioning the name of the gate. Upper portion of the central gateway is plastered and painted, the exposed brickwork of the lower part of the central gateway and the side gateways pinpoints towards the ill-maintenance of the structure during the present post-colonial times. See Plates 32 to 34 in Appendix VI.

Figure 6.56 Old photograph of Brandreth Gate OR Sialkoti Gate, Gujranwala.[77]

Figure 6.57 Lahori Gate, Gujranwala.[78]

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[77] ibid.

[78] Photograph by Author.


Figure 6.58 Qaiseri Gate, Lyallpur.[79]

Other Monumental Structures. These include a roadside monument at Sialkot Cantonment, marking the location and distance of the cantonment from the nearby towns in the region (see Figure 6.59), and a structure, Ghumbdi, that gave identity to a particular neighbourhood or a road junction, emerging as a monument for the town inhabitants. This Ghumbdi is located in front of Qaiseri Gate of the Rail Bazar, Lyallpur, at the Chowk, road junction of Circular Road, Sargodha-Circular Road, Government College Road, and Railway Road. Ghumbdi is an octagonal structure with a water fountain in centre. The style of architecture is Neo-classical, with symmetrical semi-circular arches on each side. Between each arch, there are sleek circular columns with a base and a capital, on which rests entablature with a circular plain dome on top. The presence of a round dome gave this monument its name Ghumbdi that means circular in local language, like a dome of a mosque. Today, the fountain inside this structure cannot be approached, for there are steel railings in the arched openings and an additional low-heighted steel railing surrounds the whole structure. Around this monument, today, there has grown a busy road junction, which has acquired its name from this colonial structure as Ghumbdi Chowk. See Figure 6.60, and Plates 35 to 37 in Appendix VI.

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[79] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.59 Roadside monument in Sialkot Cantonment.[80]

Figure 6.60 Ghumbdi and Ghumbdi Chowk, at Lyallpur.[81]

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[80] Photograph by Author.

[81] Photograph by Author.

Bazaars and their Semi-Public Buildings (Street Mansions)

During British times, old bazars of the town flourished, retaining their historical characteristics yet also evolving to incorporate not only the new commercial demands but also new architectural vocabulary and trends in their semi-public and residential buildings. Most of the semi-public buildings in both the old bazars and new bazars were built in a hybrid style of architecture, displaying the striking amalgamation of western and eastern styles in their street facades. These were mostly street mansions with shops on ground floors and residences on top floors. These street mansions were mostly located on main streets of old and new bazars. Some purely private street mansions and bungalow-styled houses were also found in these main bazar streets. Further, these buildings of the bazars also reflect the desire of the emerging affluent classes of native businessmen, industrialists and traders, to live like the new rulers while retaining their own traditional culture, and thus, negotiating between the new and the old. Local materials were used for construction and decoration of these buildings, i.e., brick, stone, and wood or timber for walls, opening, windows, and other decorative elements like *jharokas* (balconies). Introduction of the new material of cement, however, also influenced the construction methods. There can be found some examples of the buildings in these headquarter towns built in later 1930s, and early 1940s with brick and concrete, many of which are in modern styles with little or no embellishment. Today, these colonial buildings are frequently under the threat of being pulled down or replaced with the new commercial plazas. During the fieldwork in these towns, the locals narrated how they have witnessed the replacements of many pre-colonial and colonial buildings with new structures in recent decades. In the absence of the proper conversation policy for the semi-public and residential buildings of bazars of these towns in Pakistan, and their increasing replacement in recent times, this section of the chapter will discuss the architecture and will also document some of the surveyed buildings of the colonial times in the bazaars of these towns through photographs.

Street Mansions at Gujranwala. Some of the remaining street mansions of colonial times in old walled town of Gujranwala were mostly two or three storey brick and concrete structures. These street mansions have shops on the ground floor and residences on the upper floors, located in the streets of busy bazaars of old town. The shop on ground floor is usually a room with opening in the front, wherein the customer usually walks in the shop to look at the items to buy, a new way of shopping introduced by the British rulers, prior to which the costumer did not have access to inside the shop. These brick buildings are usually plastered and painted. Upper floor of the building is usually projected out from the front with either wooden windows, ventilators or the balcony. One such building on the main bazar street of Gujranwala has a hanging or a projected out first floor (see street mansion on left in Figure 6.61). There is a semi-circular arched opening in middle and three rectangular windows on each side with ventilators on first floor. Its windows and ventilators have wooden frames with stained glass in geometric patterns. Shades of the windows and ventilators have now been destroyed. Similarly, on corner of this building on first floor, one finds a pillar with pedestal, base, and shaft engraved in the building wall, the top of the pillar and its capital embellishment is, however, present only on one side pillar. See Plates 38 and 39 in Appendix VI. The building next to it is also in hybrid style of architecture and has shops on ground floor (see street mansion on right in Figure 6.61). The first floor of this building has a projected balcony that covers the entire street façade of this building. This balcony is made up of timber with wooden frames, panels and *jalli,* while there is a corrugated steel roof on its top. Above this balcony, one can see segmental-arched ventilators with wooden frames, and a cornice on this floor. Second floor seems to have been added recently by extending the old parapet. This old and heighted parapet of colonial times has arched and rectangular openings with *jalli,* providing covered roof space as in a traditional *haveli* (mansion). The projected out space in this parapet is a place for sitting on roof, called *shah-nashine* or *rons* in local language, a typical element of a traditional *haveli* of this region (see Plate 40 in Appendix VI).

Another street mansion in main bazar of civil station of Gujranwala, has a long street façade with shops on its ground floor. This building, however, tells the story of past, wherein Sikh and Hindu communities were majority of population in this town during colonial times before independence 1947. During the riots of partition 1947, this town suffered not only from the leaving of its Sikh and Hindu communities to India across new border line but also from attacks on its urban fabric through fire and other means. This building, built in 1930 as indicated in inscription on its half-remaining pediment at the top, appears to be a street mansion of some wealthy Hindu or Sikh businessmen residing in Gujranwala during colonial times. What remains today is only half of this building, other half that seems to be similar in style is now replaced by a new privately owned hospital building (see Figure 6.62). This street mansion is built with brick and concrete in hybrid style of architecture, combining western forms with traditional features. There are shops on ground floor, and on one side the rectangular window and ventilator have embellished sill levels and frames in intricate patterns. This building has surviving four columns that are two storey high with decorated pedestals, bases and capitals. A patterned cornice runs on first floor, parapet above has patterned *jalli* in between its brick railing. First floor has three rectangular windows with circular wall pillars between windows, and a balcony with steel railing. These windows have rectangular panels and ventilators with patterned *jalli*. Both the remaining middle-half of building and its corners, have wooden balconies in front of rectangular windows. These balconies have embellished wooden columns and panels with intricate patterns like *jharokas* in traditional *haveli*. See Plates 41 and 42 in Appendix VI.

Other than street mansions, one surviving residence in main bazar of Gujranwala is Anwar Lodge (see Figure 6.63). Name plate of this one storey residence of brick and concrete dates it back to 1932. A boundary wall separates its central part from the bazaar street, however, there is a room on each side with entrance from the street. This lodge, too, has a hybrid style of architecture with combined western and eastern forms and embellishments of pillars in its brick plastered walls, columns, *jalli*, covered veranda, cornice and parapet wall. See Plates 43 to 45 in Appendix VI.

Figure 6.61 Street mansions on main bazaar street of old town of Gujranwala.[82]

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[82] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.62 A street mansion, in the civil station of Gujranwala.[83]

Figure 6.63 Anwar Lodge in main bazaar, Gujranwala.[84]

Street Mansions at Gujrat. Similarly, a street mansion located on main bazaar road, near Shrine of Hazrat Shah Daula in old walled town of Gujrat was built during colonial times in a hybrid architectural style, incorporating western Baroque style and eastern Indian architectural features. It was probably being built by a rich local businessmen, possibly

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[83] Photograph by Author.
[84] Photograph by Author.

a Hindu or a Sikh, before partition 1947. This two storey street mansion with shops on ground floor stands out from adjacent buildings due to its unique and embellished street façade (see Figure 6.64). This surviving structure has a projected out entrance that has a semi-circular opening with columns and embellished panels. First floor on top of this middle archway has a balcony with rectangular opening between round columns and pediment. There are long sleek rectangular openings with columns. A circular decorative element rests on top of the balcony's pediment. There are also *jalli* on top of side wall openings, and in the cemented railing of the balcony. The projected out parapet on top of this central part is even more embellished with floral patterned *jalli* and corner square decorated panels. This balcony continues on both sides of this central part. On corner of each side, there is a decorated window that has embellished columns and a pediment with a circular decorative element on top. Further, a floral patterned lace hangs on top of it from the cornice. The parapet on sides of the building has a similar styled parapet like the central parapet of the building. See Plates 46 to 47 in Appendix VI.

Figure 6.64 A street mansion at the town of Gujrat.[85]

Street Mansions at Jhang. A street mansion located near the Hindu temple, Nath Mandir, in old walled town of Jhang, is a two storey building, in traditional Mughal style, more likely to be built during the colonial times (see Figure 6.65). The view of its ground floor shops from first floor of Nath Mandir shows the shoe shop extended towards the

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[85] Photograph by Author.

street (see Plate 48 in Appendix VI). In traditional bazars, the shops extend the display of their selling items on pavement in front of shop, this pavement is called *thara* in local language. *Thara* is usually a step or two higher than street level, and is a common feature of traditional building in old walled towns of the Punjab. Other than the extension of shop display attracting the costumers, a *thara* is also the point of gathering or gossiping for the people in the neighbourhood. Upper floor has a façade that resembles in style to the nearby Hindu temple with its multi-foil arches, sleek pillars and floral fresco panels in walls, decorated wooden windows and embellished domed *jharoka* on sides (see Figure 6.65, and Plates 49 and 50 in Appendix VI).

A street mansion nearby on the same bazar street is a plastered brick and concrete three storey building mainly in modern style (see Figure 6.66). Its two storey high columns in walls, however, have patterned capitals in a design similar to the nearby Nath Mandir, and street mansion discussed above. Rest of the building is devoid of any intricate detail, and has rectangular windows and ventilators with wooden frame, panels and a patterned parapet.

Another surviving street mansion in the neighbourhood of old walled town of Jhang was built in hybrid style with its exposed brickwork, columns and pillars in walls, segmental arched windows, and brick patterned cornices (see Figure 6.67).

Figure 6.65 View of first floor of a street mansion, near Nath Mandir, in old walled town of Jhang.[86]

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[86] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.66 Three storey street mansion, in bazaar of old walled town of Jhang.[87]

Figure 6.67 A street mansion in the neighbourhood of old walled town of Jhang.[88]

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[87] Photograph by Author.

[88] Photograph by Author.

Street Mansions at Sialkot. Main bazar streets of walled town of Sialkot, similarly, witnessed the building of new street mansions, mostly in hybrid style of architecture. Some of the surviving street mansions of this town have the most elaborate and intricate woodwork that indicates the presence of highly-skilled local craftsmen and artisans in this district. Their designs and use of wood or timber also reflect the influence of adjacent region of Kashmir. One such mansion is located near the old Fort of the town with shops on ground floor (see Figure 6.68). Its entire first and second floors are covered with wooden balconies that have pattered wooden columns in between multi-foil arched openings and ventilators. At each floor level, hanging wooden cornices have intricate patterns. The condition of decaying woodwork is in dire need of maintenance and conservation. See Plates 51 and 52 in Appendix VI.

Another street mansion near the Sialkot Fort is built in a hybrid style of architecture with exposed brickwork that has elaborated brick-patterned cornices (see Figure 6.69). There are gothic and trefoil arched windows in between its brick pillars. There is a projected wooden shade on some of these wooden framed and panelled windows. See Plate 53 in Appendix VI.

Figure 6.68 A street mansion near the Fort of old walled town of Sialkot.[89]

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[89] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.69 View of a street mansion near the Sialkot Fort.[90]

Several surviving street mansions in the main bazar streets of walled town of Sialkot, on its Tibba Jalian near the Imam Sahib's Shrine, tell a similar story. A street mansion, located before the Shrine's entrance, has a round corner façade with shops on ground floor (see Figure 6.70). First floor above the shops have gothic arched windows with a projected wooden shade that runs the length of this building. The façade towards the main bazar street has an additional second floor with semi-circular windows and a balcony that seems to have been added later. See Plates 54 and 55 in Appendix VI.

On the same bazar street of walled town of Sialkot, one finds a three storey mansion in a more modern style, built in brick and concrete (see Figure 6.71). First floor above ground floor shops has rectangular windows with wooden frames, devoid of any decorative features. The second floor is projected out, has balcony on one end with

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[90] Photograph by Author.

brick-concrete patterned parapet, and bay window in middle. There are concrete shades on rectangular windows and ventilators of second floor. On the third floor, there are two rooms, one on each corner, besides the brick-concrete patterned parapet. See Plates 56 and 57 in Appendix VI.

Further ahead on this bazaar street, there is a Yahya Manzal at street junction, built in a hybrid style of architecture of western Baroque with eastern Indian architectural elements (see Figure 6.72). The floors above shops are projected out, and have red brick façade with rectangular wooden windows and ventilators, and concrete balconies. These balconies have embellished columns, panels and railings. The centre of façade, where the building's name is mentioned as Yahya Manzal, has columns with floral patterned capitals and entablature. The roof has an elaborate concrete parapet with similar styled columns and entablature. See Plates 58 to 62 in Appendix VI.

The building next to Yahya Manzal at street junction is Qayum Villa, built in 1935, following a modern style (see Figure 6.73). This building has a basement and three floors above it. It is a brick and concrete structure with three storey high columns on its corners. Ground floor has covered veranda with rectangular openings between ionic columns. These openings have rectangular ventilators with patterned concrete *jalli*. Covered balconies run on floors above this veranda have columns between its patterned concrete railings. See Plates 63 and 64 in Appendix VI.

A surviving street mansion nearby Qayum Villa is built in a hybrid style, combining the western Baroque style and Indian architectural elements (see Figure 6.74). This mansion was supposedly constructed by a rich Hindu or Sikh businessman who had migrated to India upon partition 1947. Its ground floor, painted yellow, is raised above street level and has entrance in middle. There is an embellished name plate on top of entrance door that has now been painted, concealing the original name of this mansion. This floor has columns with square pedestals, circular bases, grooved shafts, and decorated capitals. Brick pillars behind these columns have horizontal grooves and floral patterns. Some of recessed wall panels between these brick pillars have rectangular windows and circular ventilators. There is embellished entablature and blue patterned tiles on the ceiling of first floor. The floor above has a patterned cornice and balcony with wooden columns, screened panels, and railing. There is a covered rectangular portico with columns and pediment in middle of roof that still retains a Hindu or Sikh symbol on its top. There are two rooms, one on each corner of roof, with rectangular wooden windows and shades, embellished columns and wall pillars, and elaborated cornices and parapets. See Plates 65 to 72 in Appendix VI.

A two storey mansion, nearby in this neighbourhood of Sialkot, is named Mistri Mohammad Shafi Butt Manzal (a craftsman is called *mistri* in local language) (see Figure 6.75). It is built in a hybrid style with rectangular windows and ventilators, concrete columns with floral capitals, and triangular pediments. On its sides, there is a wooden framed balcony in middle with steel railings. In centre of parapet, there is a similar styled embellishment on its pediments. See Plates 73 and 74 in Appendix VI.

Figure 6.70 A street mansion before entrance to Imam Sahib's Shrine, on Tibba Jalian, in Sialkot.[91]

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[91] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.71 A three storey mansion in modern style, near Shrine of Imam Sahib, in Sialkot.[92]

Figure 6.72 Yahya Manzal, on Tibba Jalian, in walled town of Sialkot.[93]

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[92] Photograph by Author.

[93] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.73 Qayum Villa, on Tibba Jalian, in walled town of Sialkot.[94]

Figure 6.74 A street mansion, nearby Qayum Villa, on Tibba Jalian, in Sialkot.[95]

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[94] Photograph by Author.

[95] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.75 Mistri Mohammad Shafi Butt Manzil, in walled town of Sialkot.[96]

One finds similar styled street mansions emerging in the new Sadar Bazar of Sialkot Cantonment. Local businessmen and traders, mostly Hindu and Sikhs, developed their shops here to serve the European population living in Sialkot Cantonment. One such long street mansion along the main Sadar Bazar road has shops on ground floors, while its first floor is covered entirely with a projected balcony (see Figure 6.76). This balcony has wooden embellished columns with multi-foil arched openings, wooden railing, panels and cornice. A tapered roof of corrugated steel rests above this balcony. The ventilators on top have wooden frames and arched concrete shades. One part of the building is still in its original form with exposed brickwork, arched ventilators, brick cornice, and parapet. On this part, however, the wooden balcony is sagging, pinpointing towards its ill-maintenance in the present times. Other part of this building still retains its intricate wooden balcony, its walls, however, are now plastered (see Plate 75 in Appendix VI).

Another street mansion located on the corner of Iqbal Square, in front of Clock Tower, in Sadar Bazar of Sialkot Cantonment indicates about the town's colonial past (see Figure 6.77). The original name of this hybrid architectural styled mansion has survived in its parapet that reads 'Bishamber Dass & Sons'. First floor above the shops has a projected balcony. This balcony has semi-circular arched panels, each having gothic-styled pointed trefoil arches. At the corner of the building, in the middle of two

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[96] Photograph by Author.

side facades, this balcony has a triangular roof. Above this balcony, there are rectangular ventilators with segmental-arched shades that have floral-petal motifs on top. The building has an embellished parapet that has free-standing gothic arch on the middle corner part of the building. See Plate 76 in Appendix VI.

Figure 6.76 A street mansion on main road of Sadar Bazar, in Sialkot Cantonment.[97]

Figure 6.77 A street mansion, Bishamber Dass & Sons, at Iqbal Square, in front of Clock Tower, Sadar Bazar, Sialkot Cantonment.[98]

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[97] Photograph by Author.

[98] Photograph by Author.

Similarly, on a street mansion, located on Railway Road of Sialkot, there are also gothic styled wall panels in between its polygonal brick pillars on ground floor (see Figure 6.78). One side has shops, while other wall panels have wooden doors. First floor has projected wooden balcony in front of segmental arched windows. This balcony has wooden columns, hanging patterned wooden panels, and a triangular pediment on its middle. Above the balcony, there are segmental arched ventilators, a floral patterned concrete lace-band running in between embellished capitals of brick pillars, and an elaborated brick cornice. On corner of roof above the shop side, there is a room with gothic windows, and an embellished cornice and parapet. See Plate 77 in Appendix VI.

Further ahead on Railway Road, there is another street mansion that has now seemed to have been rebuilt (see Figure 6.79). Its surviving top floor on its one corner, however, depicts its hybrid style of architecture with embellished columns, wooden rectangular ventilators and a projected balcony. See Plate 78 in Appendix VI.

Figure 6.78 A street mansion in front of Railway Station, on Railway Road, Sialkot.[99]

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[99] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.79 A street mansion on Railway Road, Sialkot.[100]

The street mansions and residences in the civil station of Sialkot also have similar styled buildings. Some surviving street mansions on Kutchery Road have shops on ground floor, with round columns, rectangular windows and patterned parapets in their brick-concrete structures (see Figure 6.80). A bungalow-styled house on this Kutchery Road is built in a western baroque style (see Figure 6.81). This symmetrical building has an entrance in the middle that has a veranda with columns and screened panels, and a balcony on its first floor. The parapet on first floor of this entrance part has a baroque-styled rectangular panel between brick pillars with a curvilinear panel having a circle on top. The brick pillars of the parapet have a triangular pediment on them. On each side of the central entrance, there are rectangular windows and ventilators on ground floor framed in between columns with high pedestals, circular bases, grooved shafts and bordered capitals. Columns of first floor rest directly on top of the ground floor columns, these columns too have round base, shaft having a border in the middle, a capital with a square pedestal on top. The balcony of first floor on each side has semi-circular opening with screened parapet and panels. On sides, the parapet has rectangular panels with a triangular pediment. See Plates 79 and 80 in Appendix VI.

A two storey street mansion near the road junction of Kutchery Road and Paris Road, in town of Sialkot, has a similar Neo-classical style with columns, rectangular openings, and embellished parapet (see Figure 6.82). Likewise, another three storey

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[100] Photograph by Author.

mansion nearby on same road junction is built in a similar style of architecture with columns between its rectangular wall panels, windows and ventilators (see Figure 6.83).

Figure 6.80 Street mansions, on Kutchery Road, Sialkot.[101]

Figure 6.81 A residence on Kutchery Road, Sialkot.[102]

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[101] Photograph by Author.
[102] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.82 A street mansion, on junction of Kutchery Road and Paris Road, in Sialkot.[103]

Figure 6.83 A street mansion in Sialkot Kutchery.[104]

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[103] Photograph by Author.

[104] Photograph by Author.

Nearby on Paris Road in the civil station of Sialkot, the factory of Uberoi Cooperation Sports has a one-storey brick building, now partly rebuilt. The surviving structure from the colonial times have shops on its street façade having segmental arched ventilators, and brick patterned cornice (see Figure 6.84). As one enters the factory premises, there is one storey building on one side behind the shops, housing the staff offices and administration. This office building seems to have been maintained better than the adjoining one storey building on its rear side. This later red brick building is left to decay, and is now being abandoned. Its rooms which were once workshops have the crumbling wooden roof, gothic arched doors, windows and wall panels, and segmental arched ventilators. Opposite is a free-standing minaret with octagonal base, designed in the similar style as a *kos-minar* (mile pillar), usually erected on main roads to measure the distance during Sher-Shah Suri and Mughal times. Another brick building on the rear side of this minaret has the similar style of architecture with pointed arched windows, wall panels and segmental arched ventilators. This building is used, nowadays, as a warehouse. A steel shed with a triangular roof, located on the rear side of factory premises, houses the machines. See Plates 81 to 93 in Appendix VI.

On the same road, one finds the bungalow of the original owner of the Sports Factory, Uberoi Ganda Singh (see Figure 6.85). However, this Uberoi Mansion is now being converted into a private educational institution, and its walls are being clad with *Gotka*. The bungalow has a garden and a boundary wall in the front, and a central main entrance with a covered portico. This portico is square in plan and its columns have square pedestals, circular bases and embellished capitals. The rooms on either side of this central entrance have symmetrical façades with bay windows and circular ventilators. Bay windows have tapered roof and triangular elements with patterned ventilators on top of its rectangular window panels. The first floor has a wooden balcony with screened panels in between its wooden columns, and a tapered, tiled roof. There is a cornice and screened parapet on first floor that has a brick panel in middle, above the main entrance, with a circular opening and floral embellishments. See Plates 94 to 98 in Appendix VI.

Figure 6.84 Factory of Uberoi Cooperation Sports, with shops along Paris Road, Sialkot.[105]

Figure 6.85 Uberoi Mansion, in Civil Station of Sialkot.[106]

Street Mansions at Lyallpur. Most of the buildings in the bazaars of the new towns of Lyallpur, Montgomery and Sargodha are modern-styled simple brick and concrete structures with little or no surface decoration. Only a few of the street mansions of these towns have retained the traditional elements within their hybrid styles. One such building is located at the corner of main road of Kutchery Bazar in Lyallpur (see Figure 6.86). Its

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[105] Photograph by Author.

[106] Photograph by Author.

first floor has a brick façade on one side with segmental arched windows and ventilators, and a brick patterned cornice and parapet. The other side of the façade has wooden balcony, with windows and a tapered steel roof. Boards displaying the name of its ground floor shops have covered up parts of the first floor. Further, the dilapidated condition of this building indicates about its ill-maintenance.

Another street mansion in the Bazaar Square of Lyallpur town has a similar hybrid style. This street mansion is located at the corner of Jhang Bazar and Bhowana Bazar (see Figure 6.87). Its curvilinear façade, facing the Clock Tower, has shops on ground floors that extend to its two sides. All three sides have segmental arched ventilators and gothic windows between brick pillars, and a brick patterned cornice and parapet.

Figure 6.86 A street mansion, in Kutchery Bazaar of Lyallpur.[107]

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[107] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.87 A street mansion, in Bazaar Square of Lyallpur.[108]

Street Mansions at Montgomery. In bazaars of new town of Montgomery, similar styled houses and street mansions can be found. One such residence is located at a corner of bazaar (see Figure 6.88). This old house of colonial times is a brick structure with segmental arched windows and ventilators, and has a patterned brick cornice and parapet. Its main entrance door is, however, a pointed cusped archway. On one side of entrance, there is a wooden balcony at first floor, in traditional Mughal style with cusped arches. Brickwork marking the steps of open-air staircase from roof of first floor to roof of second floor is also noticeable. See Plates 99 to 101 in Appendix VI.

Another house in the vicinity with a similar style of architecture, has multi-foil archway for entrance, segmental arched ventilators, brick cornices and parapets (see Figure 6.89).

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[108] Photograph by Author.

Similarly, in this bazaar of Montgomery, a two storey mansion has a shop on ground floor, and a multi-foil archway for entrance of residence above (see Figure 6.90). It also has a projected wooden balcony with windows on its first floor (see Plate 102 in Appendix VI).

A similar styled projected wooden balcony can be seen on first floor of another street mansion in this bazaar, which also has a multi-foil arched entrance on ground floor with a shop on its one side (see Figure 6.91).

On another two storey street mansion of this bazaar, there are rectangular windows and segmental arched ventilators with wooden frames and panels painted pink. The ground floor shops have a projected out shade resting on square based brick pillars with brick parapet on balcony above (see Figure 6.92).

Figure 6.88 An old residence of colonial times at town of Montgomery.[109]

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[109] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.89 A house of colonial times, in Montgomery.[110]

Figure 6.90 A street mansion, in Montgomery.[111]

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[110] Photograph by Author.

[111] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.91 Entrance and balcony of another street mansion, in Montgomery.[112]

Figure 6.92 A street mansion, in the bazaar street of Montgomery.[113]

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[112] Photograph by Author.

[113] Photograph by Author.

6.2.3 Other Institutional Structures: Architecture of Religious and Educational Buildings

In addition to buildings constructed in cantonments, civil stations, and bazars, various other public buildings dotted the urban landscape of these eight colonial headquarter towns of Gujranwala, Gujrat, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Sargodha, Sheikhupura, and Sialkot. These institutional buildings offered religious, health and educational services for people in the town and district. These public buildings signify the coming of new systems of medical health and western education, and the new religion of Christianity in the region, and thus, represented the coming of new culture and lifestyle in towns of the Punjab under British rule. These new systems were in sharp contrast to old prevailing systems of Punjabi society and culture. This contrast of the old and new was also reflected in the architecture of these new buildings of churches, schools and colleges. While the churches were mostly developed in various western styles, public buildings of schools and colleges embraced both the western and eastern forms in hybrid styles of architecture. Like other public buildings, these institutional buildings were the efforts of administrators and engineers of Public Works Department, military and other governmental departments. In case of churches, mostly the missionary societies commissioned and ran not only these religious buildings, but also several schools and colleges. Apart from the governmental schools and colleges, several native religious and ethnic societies like Arya Samaj and Sikh Khalsa also developed and ran several local schools in these towns. Such semi-governmental and private schools were often developed in hybrid or Indo-Saracenic style, incorporating new and old traditions in their buildings.

Religious Buildings

With British annexation of the Punjab in 1849, the natives were introduced to the Christian religion of their new rulers. It required new worship places, and churches became one of the earliest structures built in the new annexed territories. The constructions of these churches were mostly commissioned by Christian missionaries who had come to this new conquered land with the missionary zeal of converting the natives to their religion. Soon the chapels, churches, and cathedrals spread over the landscape of the Punjab, including both the urban and rural area. These new worship places introduced new religious rituals and practices and were entirely different from local religious worship places. The church practices also adopted some local rituals. For instance, the practice of going barefoot into the church is unknown in Europe, however, it is practised with much religious zeal, even today, in the churches of these Punjabi towns (see Figure 6.93). Like other buildings, these churches were also constructed by the British military and civil administrators and engineers. The native populace, however, provided the required labour force for the construction of these buildings. Often built following the western styles of architecture including Gothic and Neo-classical, these churches were built with local available materials, i.e. bricks and timber. This section will now elaborate on the architecture of various churches found in the selected headquarter towns.

Figure 6.93 Entrance to Saint James Church, Sialkot Cantonment, showing the shoes taken off outside its main church hall.[114]

Holy Trinity Cathedral, Sialkot. Holy Trinity Cathedral is in the heart of the Sialkot Cantonment, along its main road. This cathedral is one of the earliest buildings built here, dating back to same year as the layout of this cantonment, 1852. Its foundation stone was laid out on 1 March 1852, and the church was consecrated on 30 January 1857. It was designed and built by Lieutenant J. Hartley Maxwell, Bengal Engineers, as inscribed on its foundation stone. This cathedral is housed in a large land plot with its

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[114] Photograph by Author.

own garden inside the boundary wall. Entrance to the premises is through a brick structure with steel gates, in a style similar to cathedral building. The cathedral appears to be the largest religious building among all the church buildings surveyed in selected eight towns of the Punjab (see Figure 6.94). It is designed in a Neo-Gothic style, using local bricks, with gothic windows, doors, buttresses, and a bell tower. As one enters the cathedral, there is a large hall with a high wooden roof and alter with stained glass windows. Opposite to the altar, there is a rose window with stained glass. The side aisles also have stained glass windows and are separated from the main hall by high gothic arches supported on elaborated columns. Sunlight enters the main hall through the windows located on high level of these archways. See Plates 1 to 16 in Appendix VII.

Saint James Church, Sialkot. Adjacent to Holy Trinity Cathedral, there is Saint James Church in Sialkot Cantonment (see Figure 6.95). The foundation stone of this church was laid on 1 November 1853, and the construction was completed on 1 November 1854, at the expense of about 9,000 rupees. Constructed by the Rev. F. Zacharias Rizzo, this church was designed and built by Serg. J. Simpson, assisted by M. O. Brien, as mentioned on its foundation stone. This church, like the nearby located Holy Trinity Cathedral, is a brick building housed in a large land plot with garden, demarcated by its own boundary wall. The scale and size of this church building and its bell tower, as well as its interior, is modest and simple as compared to the Holy Trinity Cathedral. See Plates 17 to 28 in Appendix VII.

Figure 6.94 Holy Trinity Cathedral, Sialkot Cantonment.[115]

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[115] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.95 Saint James Church, Sialkot Cantonment.[116]

Saint Andrews Church, Gujrat. Today, Saint Andrews Church operates under the Church of Pakistan Sialkot Diocese. However, it was originally founded by the Church of Scotland Mission in 1901, on Jinnah Road near civil station of Gujrat. Designed in a western style with Gothic arches and openings, its exposed brickwork is painted red, its wooden roof light green, while its wooden doors are painted white (see Figure 6.96). Entrance to main hall of church is through an arched portico which is rectangular in plan. On one side of the entrance, there is a three storey high bell tower which is square in plan. The main hall is carpeted, a practice common in churches of Pakistan wherein the devotees are allowed barefooted only. The altar wall has three arched windows, stained glass on its central window is the recent addition. Similarly, the ceramic tiles on the columns are recent. See Plates 29 to 37 in Appendix VII.

Saint Zavier Church, Gujrat. Saint Zavier Church is located on Bhimber Road in the civil station of Gujrat (see Figure 6.97). Since 1972, this church is operating under the Pakistan Mission of Seventh Bay Adventurist Reformed Movement Church. This church is designed in similar style of architecture to Saint Andrew's Church in Gujrat, with high wooden roof and gothic arches. It is planned in a garden with its own boundary wall, spread over an area of 11 kanals. This church does not have any separate bell tower. A bell, however, is attached on top end of the high roof on rear side of main hall.

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[116] Photograph by Author.

The interior of its single main hall is devoid of any decoration. See Plates 38 to 44 in Appendix VII.

Figure 6.96 Saint Andrews Church, Gujrat.[117]

Figure 6.97 Saint Zavier Church, Gujrat.[118]

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[117] Photograph by Author.

[118] Photograph by Author.

Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul, Lyallpur. Catholic Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul is located on Railway Road of Lyallpur in a land plot of nine acres (see Figure 6.98). Today, however, its main cathedral building, built in 1901, is no longer in use, and rather a new round Cathedral building is built in post-colonial times nearby in the same land plot. The old cathedral building is a single storey rectangular hall with exposed brickwork, gothic arched windows with concrete window shades, cornice and front entrance portico. See Plates 45 to 50 in Appendix VII.

United Presbyterian Theological Seminary Lendrum Memorial Church, Gujranwala. This church was built in 1912 in civil station of Gujranwala. It stands on a raised platform in a garden enclosed by its own boundary wall (see Figure 6.99). It has a high roof main hall surrounded by low roof gothic arched verandas. Its old photograph found on wall of main hall shows double storey structures with pointed arches on corners of its single storey veranda, which no longer exist. The main church hall has a prominent triangular pediment wooden roof. The interior shows a narrow rectangular church hall with simple decorations and furniture, and gothic arched windows and ventilators for air and light. The present condition of the church reflects its neglect and ill-maintenance. See Plates 51 to 58 in Appendix VII.

Saint Paul Church, Lyallpur. Saint Paul Church is located at junction of Mall Road and Circular-Sargodha Road, in front Chenab Club, at Lyallpur. Its foundation stone was laid by Lieutenant Colonel M.W. Douglas, Deputy Commissioner of Lyallpur, on 1 January 1913. The church premises with its allied housing for church staff is enclosed in a land plot of 14 kanal and 16 marla with its own boundary wall. Built in Neo-classical style, its red brick structure has triangular pediment, wooden roof, semi-circular arched openings and brick-patterned cornice (see Figure 6.100). There is a square based bell tower attached at rear of main church hall, having semi-circular arched windows. Interior of main hall shows an altar raised on a low platform and framed in a high semi-circular arch, having three narrow windows. See Plates 59 to 66 in Appendix VII.

Figure 6.98 Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul, Lyallpur.[119]

Figure 6.99 United Presbyterian Theological Seminary Lendrum Memorial Church, Gujranwala.[120]

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[119] Photograph by Author.

[120] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.100 Saint Paul Church, Lyallpur.[121]

Saint Mary Church, Montgomery. Saint Mary Church in Montgomery was originally built in 1923, then rebuilt and renovated in 1961 (see Figure 6.101). The church stands in its own spacious land plot with housing for church staff and a school run by church missionaries. Some of its residences are of colonial times, while the church main building and the school building is of post-colonial times. See Plates 67 to 72 in Appendix VII.

Swift Memorial First Presbyterian Church, Gujranwala. Swift Memorial First Presbyterian Church is located near Kutchery Road and Hospital Road in civil station of Gujranwala (see Figure 6.102). This church was originally built in 1928 with a capacity of 200. In 2001-02, however, the church building was renovated and extended increasing its capacity to 500 members. There is an arched veranda before the entrance to main church hall. A bell tower, attached to this front veranda, is a rather unusual scaled two storey structure with a pointed pyramidal roof, and appears to be added later during post-colonial times. The roof of main hall is covered with false ceiling while altar is a semi-circular platform like a stage with cross hanging on its wall. See Plates 73 to 76 in Appendix VII.

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[121] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.101 Saint Mary Church, Montgomery.[122]

Figure 6.102 Swift Memorial First Presbyterian Church, Gujranwala.[123]

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[122] Photograph by Author.

[123] Photograph by Author.

Murray Church, Sialkot. This church, developed by the Church of Scotland Mission, is located in Murray College at Sialkot. Designed in Neo-classical style, it was built on 1 April 1935 after the establishment of Murray College in 1889 (see Figure 6.103). The church building has exposed brickwork with cement concrete demarcating its semi-circular arched windows, doors and ventilators. Its bell tower attached to entrance portico is square in plan with a cross and semi-circular windows on all its sides. The interior of main hall has exposed brick walls and cement concrete columns, semi-circular arches and altar wall with windows. See Plates 77 to 86 in Appendix VII.

Church of England, Sargodha. The Church of England, built in 1937, is now called the Church of Pakistan, and is located near the main Kutchery Road and Sargodha Road in civil station of Sargodha. Its entrance portico with a triangular pediment appears to be a later addition to its rectangular main hall (see Figure 6.104). There is a flat roof on the main hall, however, on its altar area, the roof is high with triangular pediment. While there is no bell tower in this church, a bell is attached to rear end of the rooftop. The interior of the main hall shows its pointed arched windows, wooden roof, and three windows on the alter wall. See Plates 87 to 96 in Appendix VII.

Figure 6.103 Murray Church, Sialkot.[124]

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[124] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.104 Church of England, Sargodha.[125]

Salvation Army Church, Jhang. The Salvation Army Church is located on Yousaf Shah Road near Kutchery Road and Church Road, in the civil station of Jhang. Built in a plot with a garden, this church is designed in Neo-gothic style (see Figure 6.105). The entrance to its main hall is from the side, the main hall has a high roof with wooden triangular pediment. While the altar wall and the front wall of the main hall has impressive big gothic windows. See Plates 97 and 98 in Appendix VII.

Saint Teresa's Catholic Church, Sheikhupura. Saint Teresa's Catholic Church is located on the main road of civil station of Sheikhupura. The church was built in the final year of the imperial rule, on 3 October 1946. Unlike other churches, the style of the main church building is modern with straight lines (see Figure 6.106). It is a brick and concrete structure, with rectangular plan and wall in middle of its entrance higher from its sides. A bell is attached on this high wall of entrance and a cross rests on its top. The interior is plain and simple with rectangular windows and ventilators, and has no furniture. On contrary, the main hall is carpeted providing floor seating, and the only furniture found is a table and a dice at altar and two wooden benches, one on each side of main entrance. See Plates 99 to 102 in Appendix VII.

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[125] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.105 Salvation Army Church, Jhang.[126]

Figure 6.106 Saint Teresa's Catholic Church, Sheikhupura.[127]

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[126] Photograph by Author.

[127] Photograph by Author.

Educational Buildings

With the coming of British rulers to the Punjabi territory, a new educational system was introduced in this region as in the rest of British India. Based on western values, traditions, and also on a foreign language, English, this new system of education was in contrast to the prevailing traditional educational system. The native *madrassa* based system had a teaching mostly through the mode similar to apprenticeship of a pupil, called *shagird* and/or *chaila* in local languages, under a scholar or teacher, called *ustad* and/or *guru* in local languages, following local religious practices. In *madrassas*, the learning was mostly conducted in a holistic manner, wherein the religious education was incorporated with mathematics, logics, geography, literature and philosophy, etc. The coming of the British, however, affected the local educational system, together with neglect and degradation of local Punjabi language and culture. The Punjabi language was reduced to the language of the rustic or village men as opposed to English and Urdu being considered as the languages of the educated, elite and town dweller. The *madrassa* education, even today, has continued to be degraded and is the option only for the education of poor and under-privileged classes of Punjab, Pakistan. The affluent as well as middle classes, especially in cities and towns, preferred the new English based educational system, a tradition that continued from the British times to the present. Furthermore, the importance of the English language was emphasized during the colonial times by making it a main requirement, a pre-requisite, for the attainment of government and bureaucratic jobs. Local languages, though degraded to secondary and lower levels, survived better in towns and villages, alongside the *madrassa* educational system.

During British rule, under the patronage of local religious and ethnic groups and societies, several primary, secondary and high schools, and even colleges, were established that were either semi-government or private. These educational institutions operated side by side the governmental schools and colleges in the Punjab. The government educational institutions imparted modern education, with speciality disciplines and skills, and also incorporating the basic study of local languages. The educational system introduced by the British, in the Punjab and throughout in India, is argued to be established with purposes of developing skilled labour required for running of state, in a fashion of modern western educational style. The architecture of all these types of educational institutions, whether governmental, semi-governmental or private, varied following both the western architectural styles and hybrid or Indo-Saracenic styles incorporating the local styles and traditions. Like other building types discussed earlier in this chapter, these governmental educational institutions were also the works of administrators and engineers of the Punjab's Public Works Department and other administrative departments. These institutional buildings followed standard plans, even exact or similar buildings implemented at several towns in some cases are witnessed. This section will elaborate architecture of some of schools and colleges developed in selected colonial headquarter towns of the Punjab.

Covent of Jesus and Mary, Sialkot Cantonment. Covent of Jesus and Mary is located on western end of Sialkot Cantonment, along the main Mahmood Ghaznavi Road that links the Cantonment with Paris Road of Sialkot Kutchery. The foundation stone was laid by Archbishop Mary Mitchell Anglo Jacobi in December 1855.[128] Its old colonial building is now used as the administrative block while some new building blocks are constructed in post-colonial times for the teaching purposes. Located in a large land plot with playing grounds, this old convent building is a single storey brick structure designed in Neo-classical style, having a circular hall with surrounding veranda (see Figure 6.107). The veranda has semi-circular arches and wooden roof. Some openings of this building have pointed arches. The doors and windows are of wood, and some double doors are projected out in a triangular form with semi-circular or pointed-arched shades on top. There are also some old colonial residences in the convent premises that have rectangular doors and windows. See Plates 103 to 112 in Appendix VII.

Government Islamia High School, Maghiana-Jhang. Islamia School is located on the main road junction of Jhang Road, and Kotwali Road, near civil station of twin towns of Maghiana and Jhang. The foundation stone of this school was laid by O.O. Hehrioues Esquire, Deputy Commissioner Jhang, on 19 March 1912. Designed in a hybrid style of architecture combining western forms with eastern architectural elements, all the school buildings are built with red bricks (see Figure 6.108). There is a main school building, rectangular in plan, a block that is square in plan, and two smaller blocks on sides which are rectangular in plan. All these school buildings are placed away from main road, with a big grassy ground in front (see Figure 6.109). The main school building has a two-storey-high block in middle with one-storey wings on both sides. There is an arcaded veranda that runs in front of double storey block having pointed arches, and minarets on both ends with domes on top in hybrid style of architecture combining western forms

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[128] Rehman, p. 87.

with Mughal style of architecture. The other three blocks of the school, however, follow a rather modern style with straight lines and pillared verandas. See Plates 113 to 120 in Appendix VII.

Government High School, Montgomery. Government High School for boys, is located along High Street, Hali Road and Girls College Road, adjacent to civil station of Montgomery (see Figure 6.110). This school was established in 1914, and its building is identical to the main building of the Government College at the town of Lyallpur, discussed later in this section of chapter. The main building of the school is designed in hybrid style of architecture, combining western Neo-classical style with Mughal style (see Figure 6.111). It is laid out with a foreground between the Hali Road and main school building. Further, the central block of this single storey brick building is recessed back, creating a rectangular open space between central block and the front grassy ground. Its side wings spread out like two arms of the central block. The entire building has arcaded veranda running along all its sides with roof lower than the rooms. The veranda on one of side wings, however, appears to be constructed later with straight pillared openings. High roof of rooms allows ventilators in addition to windows for provision of light and air. See Plates 121 to 128 in Appendix VII.

D.A.V. High School, Montgomery. This high school is located on Liaqat Saheed Road in civil station of Montgomery (see Figure 6.112). Today, however, this school has become premises for Government College of Commerce. The foundation stone of the D.A.V. High School was laid on 2 April 1935, by Malik Sir Feroz Khan Noon, the Honorary Minister for Education. School's single storey building is designed in a Neo-classical style, around a central grassy courtyard (see Figure 6.113). The veranda around the courtyard has semi-circular arches and is lower in height than the class rooms. The front block is recessed back from the road and has covered portico on both of its road-side façade and courtyard-side façade with semi-circular arches. See Plates 129 to 136 in Appendix VII.

Figure 6.107 Convent of Jesus and Mary, Sialkot Cantonment.[129]

Figure 6.108 Government Islamia High School, Maghiana-Jhang.[130]

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[129] Photograph by Author.

[130] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.109 Map showing Government Islamia High School, Maghiana-Jhang.[131]

Figure 6.110 Map showing Government High School, Montgomery.[132]

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[131] *Map of Jhang*, (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 26 September 2018].

[132] *Map of Montgomery*, (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 5 July 2018].

Figure 6.111 Government High School, Montgomery.[133]

Figure 6.112 Map showing D.A.V. High School, (now Government College of Commerce), Montgomery.[134]

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[133] Photograph by Author.

[134] *Map of Montgomery*, (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 5 July 2018].

Figure 6.113 D.A.V. High School, Montgomery.[135]

Government Jinnah Memorial Muslim High School, Gujranwala. Located on Ghanta Ghar Road in walled town of Gujranwala, this school is now called Government Jinnah Memorial Muslim High School. The surviving street facade of this building, however, tells a different story (see Figure 6.114). With its two storey high columns, wooden entrance door with a Sikh-architectural style *jharoka* on first floor window and Gurmukhi text on top, this was probably built as a Sikh Gurdwara during colonial times. After the partition 1947, however, with the migration of the town's Sikh community, this building must be renamed and converted into a school. As one enters, there is an open courtyard on one side of entrance arcade and main hall of the school on the other side. The interior of its main hall in particular shows the dilapidated condition of this building. This main hall is double storey with arched openings on its two floors and wooden doors, windows and roof. There is a platform at one side of courtyard that must be a place for the Sikh flag. See Plates 137 to 142 in Appendix VII.

Government Ambala Muslim High School, Sargodha. This school is located in main bazar of Sargodha, along Faisal Bazar Road and Eid-Gah Road, near Jamia Masjid Ashrafia in Gol Chowk. The school building is designed with a courtyard, in a hybrid style of architecture combining western style with eastern Mughal and Sikh styles (see Figure 6.115). Its façade along busy bazar road shows shops on ground floor, while main

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[135] Photograph by Author.

entrance of school building is located on one side. This two storey high main entrance is built in a style of a Mughal gateway architecture with small minarets and domes, multi-foil arches and an elaborated *jharoka* on first floor. This main entrance further stands out from the rest of the building due to its red brick structure while the rest of brickwork of the building is painted yellow and its four-storey high minaret located on other end is painted pink and white. The main building and the minaret differs from the main entrance in their architectural styles, following a hybrid style reflecting western influence. The front facade of main building have rectangular openings above shops. The openings on top storey of octagonal minaret are, however, pointed arched and a conical roof rests on minaret. The main entrance leads to inner courtyard of school, surrounded by an arched veranda in front of class rooms. The two storey school building has pointed arched doors, windows and ventilators. There is a platform at one side of the courtyard, that must be the place for the Sikh flag, telling the story of its past wherein this school must be ran by a Sikh mission. See Plates 143 to 152 in Appendix VII.

Figure 6.114 Government Jinnah Memorial Muslim High School, Gujranwala.[136]

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[136] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.115 Government Ambala Muslim High School, Sargodha.[137]

Murray College, Sialkot. Murray College is located in Sialkot along Murray College Road and Railway Road near Jinnah Flyover (see Figure 6.116). The college was constructed in 1889, and has gradually emerged as a prestigious educational institution of the Punjab. The college premises has its main block with a hall, administrative block, library, hostel, and church, along with grounds. After independence 1947, two new buildings for academic teaching have been added, alongside other hostel buildings. As one enters the college premises from the road, one sees the main colonial-period building of the college designed in hybrid style with a two-storey hall in the centre (see Figure 6.117). The storey of main hall has three windows framed with pillars and triangular pediment. A veranda runs in front of this building with varying sized arches.

Towards the left of main college block, one can see the Murray Church of Scotland. The missionaries of this church found and ran this college during colonial times until recent decade in post-colonial times. Towards the right of main college building, one can approach the old library, presently named Allama Iqbal Library, after the famous poet Allama Iqbal who was born and brought up in Sialkot during the colonial times. The library building like the main building is built with red bricks, however, its style of architecture is different from the main college building. This building is modern in style with rectangular openings, an entrance with sleek columns on both sides, and a parapet on top of the central double storey room. On the corners

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[137] Photograph by Author.

are circular pillars, similar in design to those of the main entrance. There is also an old hostel building, located on rear side of library building, which is not in use presently and is ill-maintained. It is a two storey brick building with spacious corridors and exposed open-air stairs to approach the first floor. See Plates 153 to 164 in Appendix VII.

Figure 6.116 Map showing the location of Murray College, Sialkot.[138]

Figure 6.117 Main building, Murray College, Sialkot.[139]

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[138] *Map of Sialkot,* (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 16 October 2018].

[139] Photograph by Author.

Coronation Library, Lyallpur. Coronation Library is on M.A. Jinnah Road in the civil station of Lyallpur. This public library is presently called Allama Iqbal Library. Its foundation stone was laid out by Lieutenant Colonel M. W. Douglas, Deputy Commissioner of Lyallpur, on 24 January 1912. The library building is placed at a distance from main road with a front lawn which today houses a sculpture of a horse and a cart on a marble platform. It is a brick construction following a hybrid style, combining western Neo-classical style with eastern Mughal style (see Figure 6.118). The main entrance has a covered portico with arches, cornice and small domes on top. The veranda on both sides has a low tapered roof with columns. The main reading rooms have high roof with arched windows and ventilators, cornice on roof and small domes on corners. The wooden roof is visible in the interior of the rooms and corridor while there are also book shelfs and other furniture of colonial times in its reading rooms. The building is expanded in post-colonial times to house the Lyallpur Museum, and this new building is attached to the old building towards its rear and side. See Plates 165 to 174 in Appendix VII.

Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur. Punjab Agricultural College, also referred as Lyallpur Agricultural College, is one of the first agricultural institutions developed in the Punjab and was also the largest agricultural college developed during the colonial times in the whole of Asia. This college is located along Jail Road, near the civil station of Lyallpur, and was initially started from a 50-acre experimental farm for agriculture between 1901 and 1903 on the land owned by irrigation department, and expanded to 719 acres during colonial times. Today, this college has acquired the status of a university, University of Agriculture, Faisalabad, and is among the top five educational institutions of Pakistan, a prestigious status it has retained from the colonial times. In 1906, the foundation stone of main college building was laid by Sir Louis Dane, Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, who also inaugurated the building of its main hostel in 1909. These early college buildings were built in hybrid style with red bricks. The main building is a single storey structure with a veranda that runs around its rooms, with rectangular openings and a patterned cornice (see Figure 6.119). The roof and corners of the building also have small domes reflecting the influence of Mughal architectural traditions. Some of the new college and hostel buildings built on the campus since independence follow the same architectural style as the old main building of the college and of the old hostel building. See Plates 175 to 188 in Appendix VII.

Government College, Lyallpur. The campus of Government College of Lyallpur is spread on a large land plot between four roads of Bakar Mandi-Rajbah Road, Bakar Mandi Link Road, Iman Bargah Road and Kotwali Road on south-west of famous Bazar Square of Lyallpur (see Figure 6.120). Today, this college has acquired the status of a university, and several new departments and buildings are built on its campus. The old main building of the college built during the colonial times can be approached from the college's entrance from main Kotwali Road. The building is laid at a distance from the road with a front ground. This building now houses the administration of the college and its Armstrong Library started in 1942. This main building of the college is similar in design and style to the building of Government High School in Montgomery, established in 1914 shown in Figure 6.111. Similar to that school building, the central block of the building is recessed back creating a front open area in between its side blocks (see Figure 6.121). This building too follows the hybrid architectural style with an arched veranda running around the building, cornices, and small domed *chattris* crowning the corners of the principal elements. See Plates 189 to 197 in Appendix VII.

Figure 6.118 Coronation Library, Lyallpur.[140]

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[140] Photograph by Author.

Figure 6.119 Main building of Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur.[141]

Figure 6.120 Map showing the campus of Government College of Lyallpur.[142]

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[141] Photograph by Author.

[142] *Map of Lyallpur*, (Google Map), online <https://www.google.com/maps>, [accessed on 5 July 2018].

Figure 6.121 Main college building of colonial times, in Government College of Lyallpur.[143]

6.3 Conclusion

This discussion of various building typologies has shown the effects of imperial imperatives of power and economy on urban and architectural spaces in selected headquarter towns of West Punjab. These new colonial buildings, ultimately, defined a colonial town and facilitated its role of a headquarters and an imperial urban centre in a district. Housing the modern facilities of bureaucratic and civil administration, transportation and communication, religion and educational system, semi-public street mansions, these buildings introduced a new urban lifestyle in Punjabi towns.

Besides, the architecture of these new building types introduced new building traditions and styles that were in contrast to existing ones. Sometimes incorporating the local traditions and architectural features in a hybrid style of architecture, while at other times neglecting the native architectural forms altogether, these new colonial buildings were mainly the works of administrators and engineers. In addition, rather than the monumental scale used in provincial and divisional headquarter towns and cities, the buildings of these middle urban centres at district level were modest in scale. Together with the standardized plans of buildings, this reveals another aspect of the imperial building and architecture, which is based on economical yet efficient buildings providing necessary facilities for the functioning of the empire. Documenting the colonial buildings

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[143] Photograph by Author.

in the selected headquarter towns of canal colony districts of the West Punjab, this chapter has provided a more comprehensive picture of the colonial architecture in the wider landscape of West Punjab for implementing imperial political and economic control and order.

Conclusion

At the start of this thesis, the stated research aim was to contribute towards the present understanding of urbanisation of the Punjab during the British rule by tracing and explaining the historical development of headquarter towns and their canal colony districts in this region. Through various research methods adopted during this study, the thesis elaborated on the colonial legacy in this region, West Punjab in particular, presently located in Pakistan. This section of the thesis will summarize the main findings and results of the research, also highlighting its primary contributions. It will also briefly outline the present regional and urban milieu in the Punjab of Pakistan during the post-independence and post-colonial times, suggesting the future directions of the research.

Main Findings of Research: Colonial Legacy in the Punjab

The British annexed the Punjab in 1849, much later than the rest of Indian Sub-continent, and ruled till end of British Empire in this region upon independence 1947. Nevertheless, in a span of almost a century's rule (98 years) in the Punjab, the British transformed the region altogether through various means. This thesis while discussing the development of headquarter towns of canal colony districts of West Punjab, has contributed to understanding of far-reaching colonial impacts on urbanisation of this region, as explained below.

Significance of Studying a Town in a Regional Context

Instead of studying the town's development and evolution in isolation, this study has explored and analysed the town growth in a wider regional context. It has helped to comprehend the impacts of the imperial imperatives of political and economic control and order on the region's spatial development. Further, this method fulfils another objective of the thesis to study the evolution of the town's form together with the town's role in the district and how this role influenced the town's urban form and vice-versa. It contributes to the knowledge of colonial towns and their development in the overall regional context, a novel approach of looking at the growth of towns, unprecedented in the context of literature on colonial towns of the British Punjab. This, in Part One, the pre-colonial history of the Punjab and its selected towns, discussed in its Chapter One, provided the understanding of region's political and economic history, geography and ecology, and its urbanisation during pre-colonial times. This helped to analyse this region's tremendous transformation through strategic and economic development during the British rule with a historical perspective, in the Chapter Two and Three that influenced urbanisation of the region. Chapter Three further related this political and economic development of the region to the spatial development of the region, delineating its influence on the urban centres and their role in the region's political and economic organisation.

The discussion in Part One of the thesis relied on the documentary evidences in form of district maps and other old colonial maps collected from the archives, which have become part of the analysis for the first time in any study. As such, it provided a synthesis of the research conducted in various fields of social, economic and political sciences and historical studies about the canal colonies. This created a more robust understanding of the historical development of regional space and colonial impact on the urbanisation of this region in relation to the region's political and economic development under the imperial regime, and laid the foundation for Part Two of the thesis. Linking the town's role in the region to the development of a colonial town and vice versa, the Part Two has elaborated on evolution of urban form and architecture of two main types of the colonial towns in its three chapters. While the old towns and their expansion in order to serve as headquarters of canal colony districts were discussed in Chapter Four, the Chapter Five further highlighted the importance of studying the development of headquarter town with reference to its role in the district by analysing planning of entirely new towns in the Punjab. These chapters helped to understand the far-reaching unprecedented impacts of the British on the urban centres of the Punjab together with forever transforming the region's urbanisation. In the last Chapter Six, this approach of studying the town in its overall regional context, helped in creating a more profound understanding of the colonial architecture of these towns, wherein the various building typologies were discussed. The thesis has also contributed to the documentation of the colonial architecture of the Punjabi towns in its Chapter Six together with photographic survey presented in Appendices of this thesis.

Urbanisation of the Punjab and Reorganisation of Regional Space

This thesis has emphasised the significance of the British rule in the Punjab, for transforming its urbanisation and spatial development in particular and in relation to this region's strategic and economic development. From the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, the British viewed this region as a crucial frontier region of strategic significance for establishing the British authority in North India. The Chapter One elaborated on the region's geographical and political importance throughout its history as gateway to

India from the Central Asia. Recognising this strategic significance of the Punjab, the British considered it a frontier region between British Army in Indian Sub-continent and Russian Army beyond Afghanistan. Chapter Two then elaborated on how this recognition of the strategic importance of the Punjab led to development of its transportation and communication networks together with its military cantonments in the early phase of the British rule in the Punjab. The role of these infrastructural facilities in influencing the economy of this region's towns and villages was also discussed briefly in this chapter. While the influence of these infrastructural facilities on town's role in the district and also on the urban form of the town and its architecture is analysed in the later Chapters Three to Six.

Once the British established themselves in the region and after analysing the economic feasibility, in the later decades of the nineteenth century, the British exploited the Punjab's economic potential with the development of this region through canal or agricultural colonisation. Chapter Two discussed in detail the reasons behind this colonisation as being both the economic and socio-political. It elaborated on the various land distribution policies employed in nine main canal colony projects. These nine canal colonies developed in the western *doabs* of the West Punjab, the chapter argued, resulted in transforming not only the agricultural production of the region, but has a perpetual effects on this region's urbanisation. The thesis recognised the agricultural colonisation as a major catalyst of urbanisation in the West Punjab, developing new urban centres and changing the urban patterns in overall landscape of the West Punjab. In contrast to pre-colonial Punjab, discussed in Chapter One, during the colonial times the urban centres emerged in those areas of the western *doabs* of the Punjab where hitherto only a few rural settlements existed in pre-colonial times. These transformative effects of the agricultural colonisation on the regional space were discussed in detail in the Chapters Two and Three. Various ways and means of reorganising the regional space for imperial purposes were delineated with evidences of regional and districts maps collected from the archives. The physical space was discussed to be at discretion of the imperial rulers and administrators, the reorganisation of which was achieved firstly by declaring the Punjab's land in western *doabs* as Crown Wastelands in 1885. The land, that was sparsely populated and barren with little or no vegetation in the *bars* (uplands) of the Punjab and serves mainly as pastures for native tribal inhabitants, was developed into agricultural land with network of canals, and became a commodity. These canal colonies were settled with new inhabitants from other overcrowded districts of the Punjab selected for a number of reasons, in new villages and towns expanded and planned during the British rule. For control and order of the land, people and agricultural production, the reorganisation of the regional space through administrative divisions of manageable units of districts, *tahsils* (sub-divisions) and circles of village with urban centres in each district helped to disseminate the imperial authority between big cities and villages throughout the landscape of the Punjab. Chapter Three discussed this making of new districts, and continual changes in the district boundaries and sub-divisions, with old maps of colonial times, reorganising the regional space for provision of better civil and revenue administration. Systems of land division into measureable square through Square System and later Killabandi System reflected on the importance of extracting the revenue, as well as the regulation and control over production and land in the Colonial Punjab, which ultimately affected its urbanisation.

Chapter Three also reflected on shifting of the headquarter towns in the districts and the establishments of entirely new towns as headquarters for canal colony districts of the Punjab, for achieving better political and economic control in the region. The town's role was discussed as a part of a larger system and as a station to highlight that a colonial headquarter town in the Punjab was not developed in isolation but to serve as a middle centre of imperial power and economy at district level between big cities and villages in the Punjab. Chapter Three delineated the major roles of the headquarter town as civil and sometimes also as military administrative centres, and as major market towns at district levels. In dissemination of the imperial authority over the populace and production of this vast region, the establishment of these headquarter towns at district levels were of utmost importance. It challenged the present scholarly narrative on the town development in the Colonial Punjab which studied the colonial town in isolation, and thus, in this regard, it created a much deeper comprehension of imperial systems at regional level and how these systems influenced the development of an individual colonial town in the Punjab.

Urban Form and Architecture of Old and New Towns in the Punjab

In focussing on middle urban centres of imperial power and economy that were developed as headquarter towns of canal colony districts in West Punjab, the thesis is novel in its selection of towns, as the primary scholarship on the Colonial Punjab is concentrated on big cities of this region. Chapter Three discussed the role these headquarter towns played in implementing the imperial authority throughout the region. The selection of these headquarter towns instead of big cities helped to understand the outreach of the imperial systems beyond the big cities and throughout the landscape of the Punjab. In Chapter Four, the discussion proceeded to analyse how the town role in the district is linked to evolution of its urban form and vice-versa. This chapter, focusing on old towns of the Punjab, elaborated on how the towns of varying historical background and settlement types during the pre-colonial times were expanded by the British to serve their imperial purposes of political and economic control and order in the region. The discussion on the development of five old Punjabi towns, namely Gujranwala, Gujrat, Jhang, Sheikhupura, and Sialkot, during the British rule linked the brief account of their pre-colonial historical development explained in previous Chapter One, with the transformation of these towns during the colonial times. While Sheikhupura was merely a rural settlement during the pre-colonial times, others were walled towns of ancient and medieval times. Nevertheless, all these settlements were developed as headquarter towns of canal colony districts and shared certain urban features and architecture common among the colonial towns. Delineating their generalities and specificities briefly, Chapter Four explained in detail one of the headquarter towns, Sialkot, as a case study, and analysed the evolution of its urban form during the British times in comparison to its pre-colonial history. The town's expansion with new cantonment and civil station was discussed in relation to its role as a major military and civil administrative centre, disseminating imperial authority at the district level. The urban form of the cantonment was elucidated in contrast to the old walled town, introducing new British lifestyle and culture in old Punjabi towns. Sialkot's development and emergence as a major industrial town during the British times is also discussed, highlighting the evolution of its urban form due to economic activity in its old and new bazars.

Sialkot is discussed with analysis of its town maps, some old town maps of colonial times where available and some recent maps in other cases, as well as the photographs, and observations made during the field surveys in all these towns, all of which also become part of original contributions of the thesis. It helped to understand in depth the towns developed in the West Punjab other than the big cities of this region, giving new perspectives. Here, the civil station was analysed as an intermediate space between European settlement of cantonment on one hand and native settlement of old walled city on the other. Nevertheless, linking the two extremes, the chapter elaborated how the new emerging local businessmen occupied the civil station alongside the European officials running public offices of civil station. It also viewed the walled town as continually developing along with new civil station and cantonment of the town. Here, the artisans as well as emerging rich industrialists continued to reside, conduct their businesses in its bazars, and also build new street mansions, during the colonial times. Old religious places like shrines and mosques, continued to co-exist even today alongside new worship spaces of churches. New educational institutions, governmental and private schools and colleges, were also developed in the walled town, civil station and cantonment. The population of the town increased and its limits extended beyond its pre-colonial settlement. The colonial development of the town gave new axis and directions for urban expansion of the town which continue to dictate the town development even in present post-colonial times. Besides, the colonial institutions of civil administration and governance of the civil station, infrastructural networks of roads and railways, and educational institutions, also have remained the essential characteristics of these towns even during the post-colonial times.

In continuation to this discussion, the urban form of other major types, i.e., entirely new towns planned as district headquarter towns were analysed in Chapter Five. Three towns of Lyallpur, Montgomery, and Sargodha were developed on virgin grounds in West Punjab as a result of the canal or agricultural colonisation in last decades of the nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth centuries. This reflected and discussed in the thesis as an outcome of the imperial imperative to enhance the political and economic administration and control in the newly developed region, which ultimately influenced the urbanisation of this region. Centring the analysis on town of Lyallpur as a case study, this chapter highlighted the wider experimentation of the British in the Punjab, wherein the planning of these new towns was majorly an administrative effort of officials of the Punjab's bureaucracy. The analysis delineated the evolution of its urban form from the earlier division of landscape following Killabandi System, squares of which become the basis of its land plots and grid-iron urban pattern that was in complete contrast to old Punjabi towns. The town was discussed to have been developed as an exemplary market town with eight bazars and a clock tower, reflecting on the importance of economic imperative of the imperial regime besides political control on town form. This conscious development of the headquarter town to serve as a major administrative and economic centre in the region with bazars, civil station and also an agricultural college in a grid-iron layout, provided the evidence of the ultimate influence of the imperial political and economic imperatives on a town's form in the Punjab. Further, this new town, as in case of Lyallpur, continued to grow in a short span of its birth from

1896 to 1947 during the colonial times and by independence 1947 had an industrial hub with factories of cotton ginning related to this district's main agricultural cash crop. Discussing this town, the old town maps gathered from the archives and also recent maps were analysed, together with the photographic survey of these towns, which also form the original contribution of this thesis. Overall, it contributed towards the historiography of the new towns planned in the British Punjab in particular and in the Indian Sub-continent in general, and also reflected on the widespread experimentation of the British rulers with the urbanisation of this region.

In Chapter Six, the discussion was generated on colonial architecture of main building types established in these eight towns of the Punjab. The development of these buildings and their architecture was discussed in relation to how these buildings facilitated the town's role at urban and district levels. These building types were in correspondence and in requirement to new systems introduced by the British, including buildings related to administrative and judicial system, educational and religious system, new infrastructural systems, monumental structures and semi-public buildings of the bazars. These buildings influenced the urban form as well as lifestyle of the inhabitants of these towns and districts. Administrative buildings and courts of the civil stations of these towns gave a new perspective to colonial architecture developed in the Colonial Punjab that unlike monumental architecture of the capital city of Lahore was modest in scale and simple in appearance, yet helped to disseminate imperial authority throughout the region. The architecture of infrastructural facilities like railway stations, too, reflected the standardization of building plans, which were the result of Punjab's Public Works Department. These barrack-like structures of usually one or two storeys followed either purely western or hybrid styles of architecture. Provision of churches for new religion of Christianity also introduced new architectural forms in the Punjab, mainly in pure western styles, which were in contrast to existing worship spaces of this region. Similarly, new education based on English language and British system resulted in establishment of schools and colleges in every town. These institutional buildings were in both pure western and hybrid styles in these towns. Clubs for the officers with their sporting facilities propagated new western social lifestyle in these towns that continue to flourish among Punjab bureaucratic classes even in post-colonial times. Besides, the monuments like clock towers in these towns introduced new European values of discipline and time, and sometimes become the unique identity of a town, for instance, in case of famous *Ghanta Ghar* or Clock Tower of Lyallpur. Street mansions, however, reflected more of the amalgamation of two cultures, local and foreign, in their architecture. These various public and semi-public buildings of colonial times were also discussed with the intention to document these colonial structures through photographic survey conducted for the first time in these town.s This documentation is original contribution of this thesis together with Appendices, and was much needed in the light of threats that these buildings face in present post-colonial times because of neglect, poor conservation, and even demolishment and replacement due to commercialization.

Present Regional and Urban Milieu in Post-colonial Punjab and Directions of Future Research

The urbanisation of the West Punjab, in Pakistan, was affected in an unprecedented way by the development of this region through various means during the British rule. This regional development of the West Punjab as an exemplary agricultural region with reorganisation of the regional space and growth of old and new towns, continues to dictate the development of this region even during the post-colonial times. In post-colonial times, for instance, the Sind Sagar Doab of West Punjab was developed with similar canal networks. Though the districts of West Punjab are further sub-divided into smaller districts in present day Punjab because of similar reasons of achieving better administrative and economic management, the discussed towns in this thesis, that were established as headquarters of canal colony districts during the colonial times, have continued to remain districts headquarters while some of these have acquired an ever higher role of a divisional headquarter, including the cities of Gujranwala, Lyallpur (now renamed as Faisalabad), Montgomery (now renamed as Sahiwal), and Sargodha. This was the result of the continual growth of these urban centres becoming cities with their increased population and urban sprawl, a few of them are now among the top five big cities of the Pakistan with millions of people residing in these cities, including Lyallpur (Faisalabad is the third most populated city), and Gujranwala (is the fifth most populated city), according to latest census 2017.[1] Nevertheless, these urban centres have continued to retain their colonial cores of cantonment, civil stations and bazars alongside the infrastructural facilities developed in these towns during British. This thesis with the historical study of these towns during British times has, thus, provided the fundamental

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[1] *Population of Major Cities Census – 2017*, (Ministry of Statistics), online <http://www.statistics.gov.pk/census-results.html>, [accessed on 23 November 2018]. Also see, Mubarak Zeb Khan, *20pc of Pakistanis live in 10 Cities, Census reveals*, (Dawn News), online <https://www.dawn.com/news/1354653?fbclid=IwAR0OjclRpwlfbEZof6Vju7xJ32Qp10s6inOWapxW0WdSPqOQ5X96naqQXyM>, [accessed on 23 November 2018].

repository of knowledge upon which the future research about these towns can be conducted. Presently, there exists no comprehensive study about the historical development of these grown up cities of colonial origins, during the present post-colonial times. A few suggestions about the future directions of research based on the historical and present situation in the Punjab, Pakistan, are as follows:

- One such area to address in studying these towns is the impact of Partition 1947 on these towns. At the time of independence in 1947, resulting in division of this vast Punjab region between new countries of Pakistan and India, the ethnic and religious cleansing was propagated during the partition riots. This resulted in mass migration of people across the new drawn up border between two countries. From the headquarter towns of canal colony districts too, the majority of people that belonged to the religions other than Islam, mainly Hindus and Sikhs, had to cross over the new boundary line to migrate to India, while new Muslim population migrated to these Punjabi towns as refugees. The houses and buildings deserted were then allotted to new migrated Muslim families. Many buildings also faced the loot and theft, and possession through forced illegal means. In addition, with the leaving of the majority of the people from the faiths other than Islam, the society became more unilateral, with less tolerance towards not just the minorities of other religions but also for the social groups like transgender and activists, etc. The issue of providing the housing to new town dwellers also led to population growth, congestion of these colonial towns as well as development of new neighbourhoods in these towns. Further, the economic activity of these towns was also affected in the post-1947 decade, as shops and businesses in the majority of these towns were owned by the Hindus and Sikhs, and their migration affected the businesses and the related buildings in the bazars of these towns. The effects of the partition 1947 on the urban form, social and built environment of these towns is only partially studied, and is one of the most important directions that this research points towards.

- Providing the initial documentation through photographic survey of various colonial public and semi-public buildings in the studied eight towns of the Punjab, this research also points towards the development of better conservation policies in the region. In view of the threat faced by these buildings due to neglect, ill-maintenance, and even replacement or demolishment, there exists a possibility to lose significant built heritage of important historical times, British period in particular. In the absence of any coherent policy of the conservation in the country today to incorporate wider regional built environment in the Punjab, this research calls for attention towards further research about conservation of colonial buildings of various types, that exist beyond prominent big cities, in the region's towns and villages.

- From the partition 1947 to present, these towns have continued to grow with increased population, businesses, industries and new neighbourhoods. Though, even today, the colonial town with its civil station, makes up the city centre and core of these towns, their urban sprawl have now expanded with new sub-urban areas beyond new city limits. Meanwhile, their urban issues of cleanliness, waste management, provision of clean water, air pollution, provision of roads and railways, provision of security, education and health, and conservation and rehabilitation of old buildings and monuments, are addressed partially. The governance systems have remained true to their colonial origins established in these towns, wherein the development of towns is at the mercy of serving civil servant and local politicians. Besides, the blatant focus of both the scholars and developers on big cities or metropolises like Lahore, Islamabad, and Karachi, added and exacerbated these urban issues and under-development due to lack of resources and research among these towns. Based on this study, these urban issues can be understood better with historical perspective on town development, for all these town facilities were initiated and developed in colonial times in these towns. The colonial urban fabric still forms the core of these cities and dictates the governance of these towns with colonial bureaucratic and administrative systems, thus, the conducted research will aid the future research in dealing with urban issues of these towns.

- While the colonial heritage of socio-political, economic and built environment have continued to form the basis of these towns, the trends of modernity introduced during the colonial times are growing in the present circumstances of globalization and the recent advent of new trade agreement with China, under China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). CPEC, proposed initially in 2013, is a part of a larger project initiated by China, named One Belt, One Road. It is the result of the Chinese aspiration to revive the ancient Silk Road of trade between Asia and Europe. CPEC, as a fragment of this project, will ultimately connect the western province of Xinjiang in China with the marine ports of Karachi and Gwadar in Pakistan, through the infrastructural networks of roads and railways, for the promotion of trade and business. This undergoing project will achieve these aims via two main routes in Pakistan: one going through the Punjab, and the other going through its western provinces of North Western Frontier Province and Balochistan. The route that goes through the Punjab proposes to connect all the major cities and towns in the region, including the colonial towns studied in this thesis. There is also the provision in this project to improve security and promote tourism. China is also planning to invest in the agricultural sector of the Punjab for increasing productivity through up-to-date and advanced technology. In this project, China will also develop industrial zones, and invest in infrastructure, power and energy sectors in Pakistan. The project is hauled and advertised as the game changer by the current Government of Pakistan, however, it is also presently criticized by some economic experts and scholars for not providing transparency of information for the general public, while a few experts are warning for its adverse effects on local economy and to be cautious of leasing out the land to China in the risk of triggering a new form of colonisation in Pakistan by the Chinese.[2] This project, however, will undoubtedly influence the economy, industry and trade, infrastructure and, thence, the urban centres of Pakistan, including the towns discussed in this thesis. The impacts of this ongoing CPEC project on the urban centres of the Punjab is another direction in which this thesis points and provides the historical understanding of development of this region and its towns during the colonial times.

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[2] Khurram Husain, *Exclusive: CPEC Master Plan Revealed*, (Dawn news), online <https://www.dawn.com/news/1333101?fbclid=IwAR3Nv6Te-cXiyozNwpZ_wAUsj7GbQ0bveZGFfTk07H1fuZO1JvdtMrrXtXk>, [accessed on 23 November 2018].

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Colonial Impact on Urbanisation of the West Punjab: Development of the Headquarter Towns of Canal Colony Districts as Imperial Centres, 1849-1947

Amna Jahangir

VOLUME TWO

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Welsh School of Architecture, Cardiff University
December 2018

Table of Contents

VOLUME TWO

Appendix I – Maps of Gujranwala District[1]

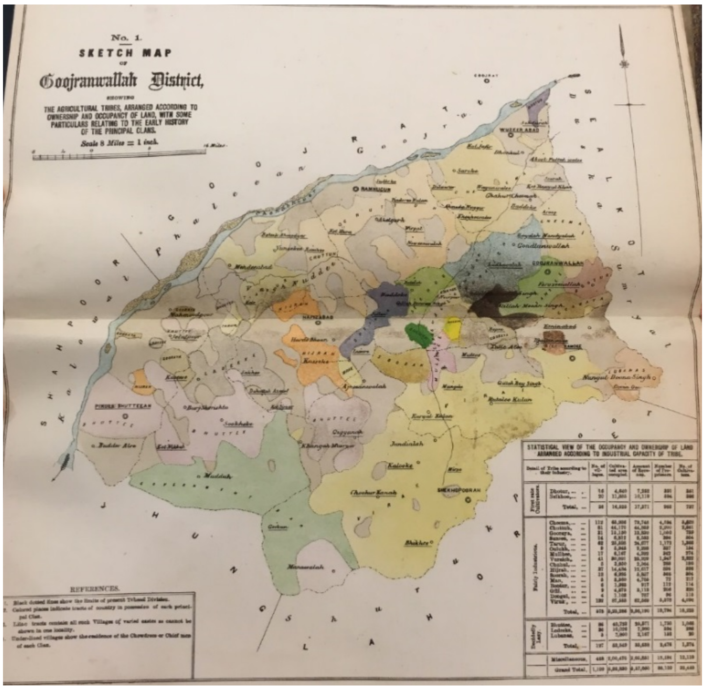

Plate 1 Sketch Map of Gujranwala District, showing agricultural tribes, arranged according to ownership and occupancy of land, with some particulars relating to early history of principal clans.

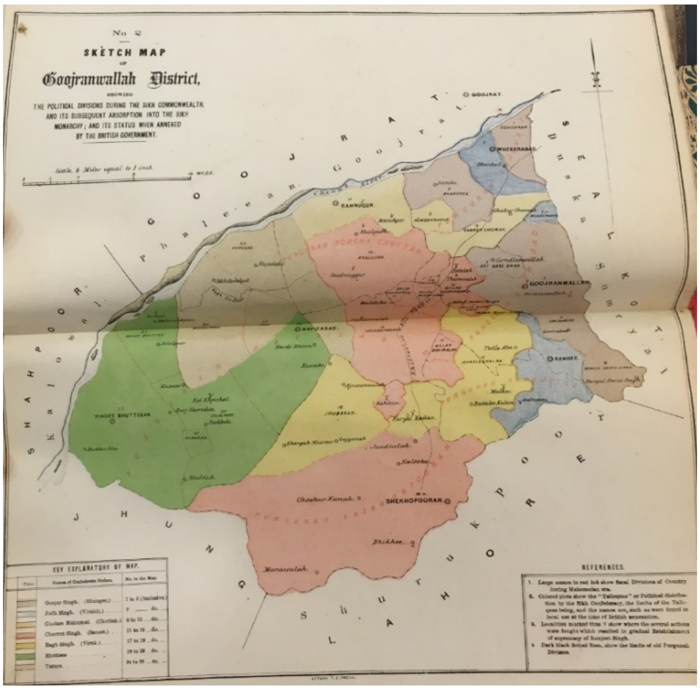

Plate 2 Sketch Map of Gujranwala District, showing its political divisions during the Sikh commonwealth, and its subsequent absorption into the Sikh monarchy; and its status when annexed by the British Government.

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[1] *Maps connected with the Report on the Revision of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Gujranwala District, 1866-1867* (Calcutta, 1868), accessed at the India Office Record and Maps Collections, British Library, London, bookshelf no. 14.d.10. (Photographed by Author)

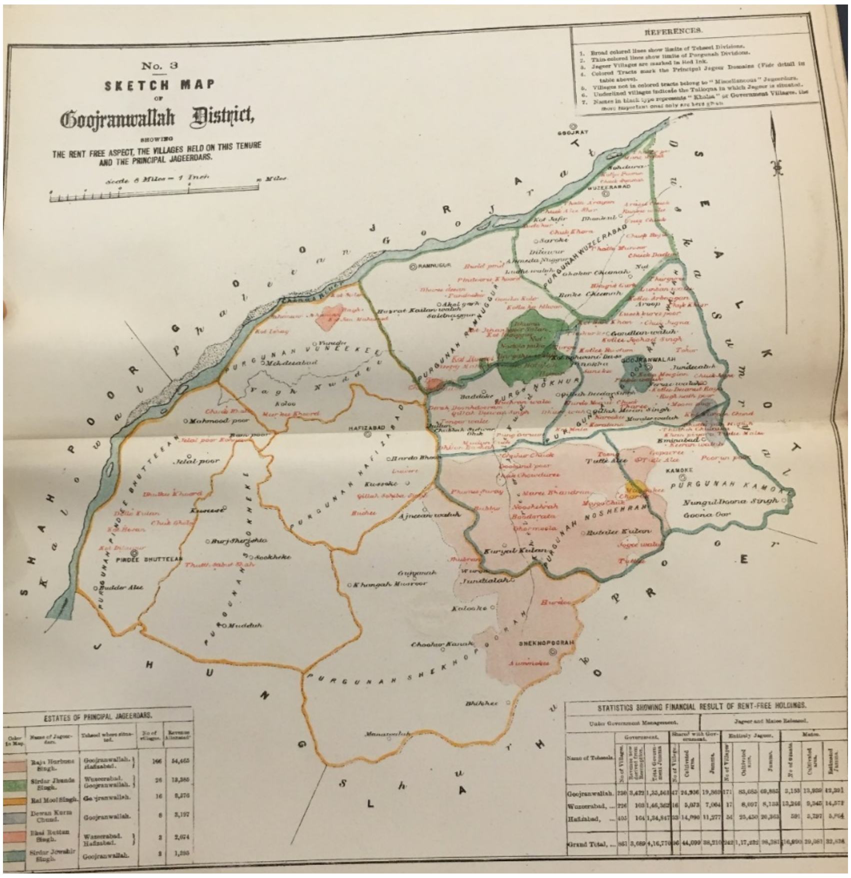

Plate 3 Sketch Map of Gujranwala District, showing the rent free aspect, the villages held on this tenure and the principal jageerdars.

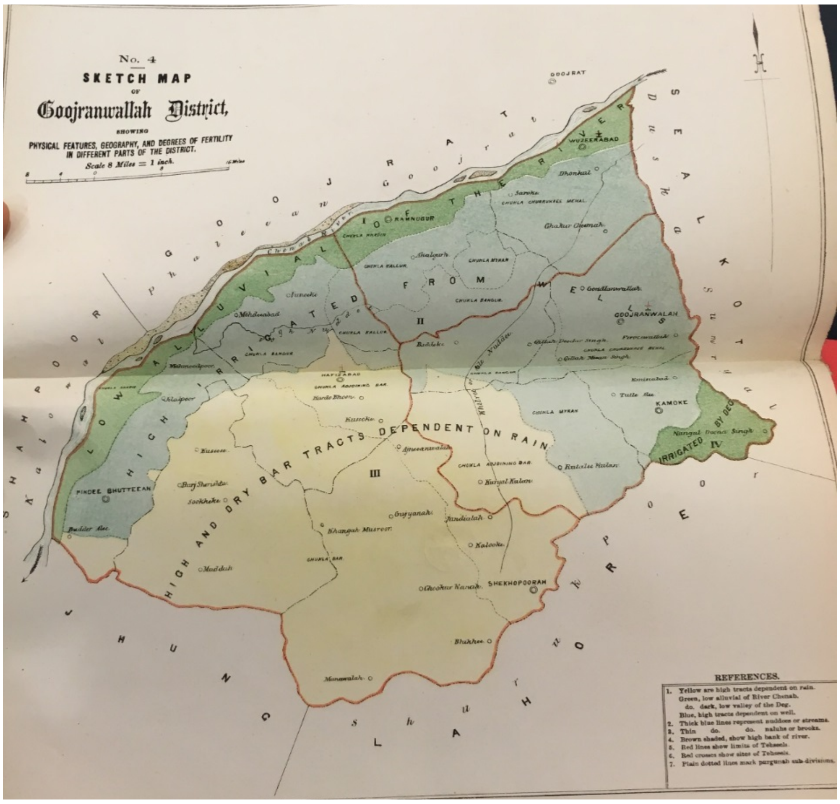

Plate 4 Sketch Map of Gujranwala District, showing physical features, geography, and degrees of fertility in different parts of the district.

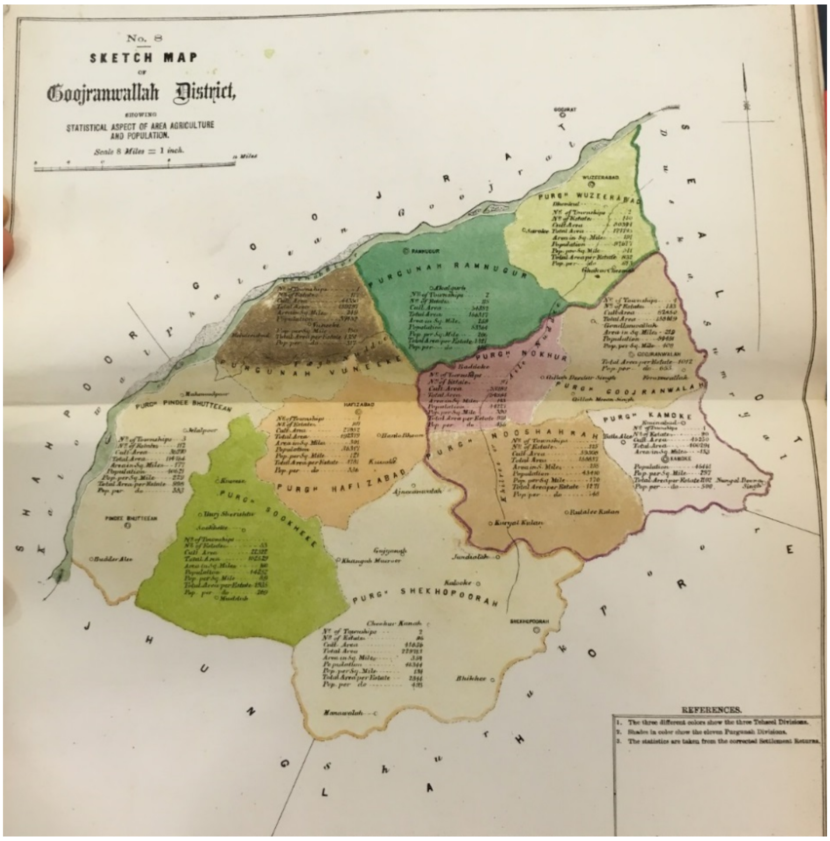

Plate 5 Sketch Map of Gujranwala District, showing statistical aspect of area agriculture and population.

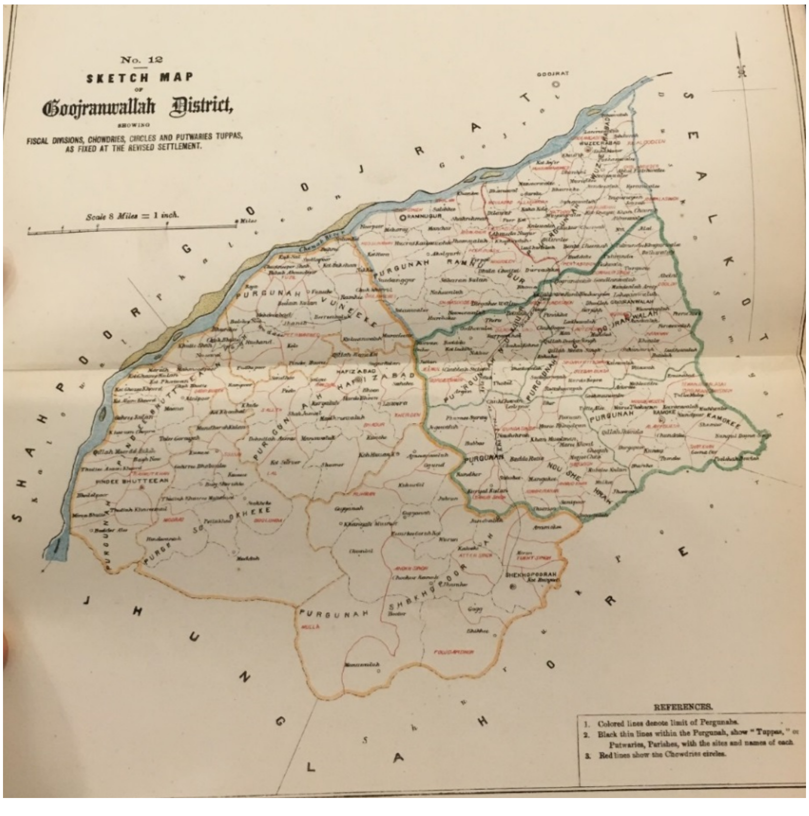

Plate 6 Sketch Map of Gujranwala District, showing fiscal divisions, chowdries, circles and putwaries tuppas, as fixed at the revised settlement.

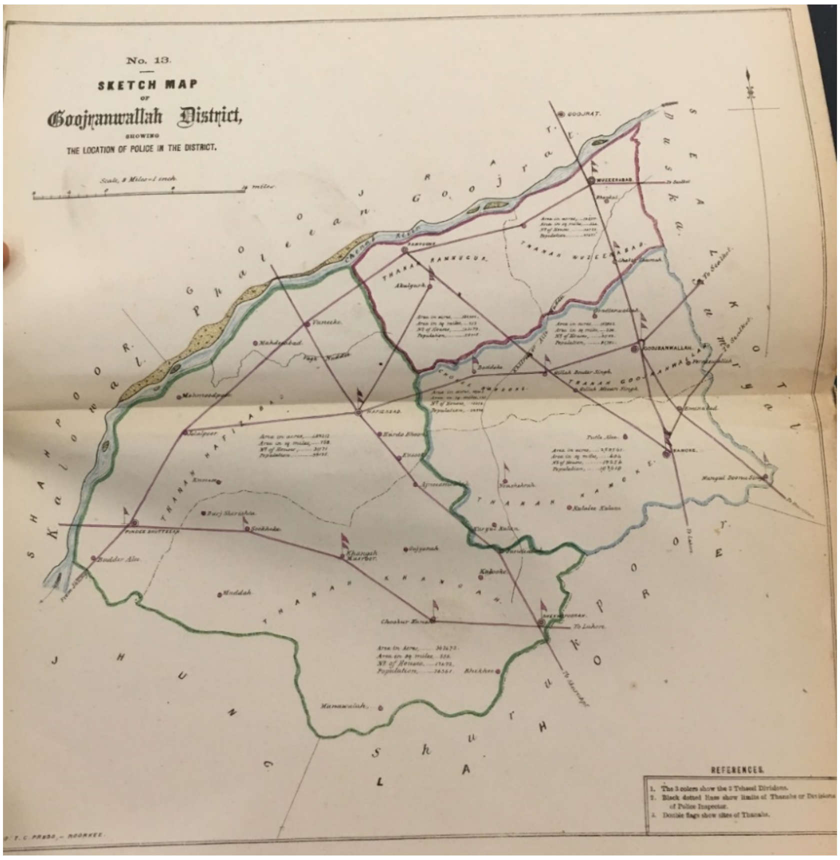

Plate 7 Sketch Map of Gujranwala District, showing the location of police in the district.

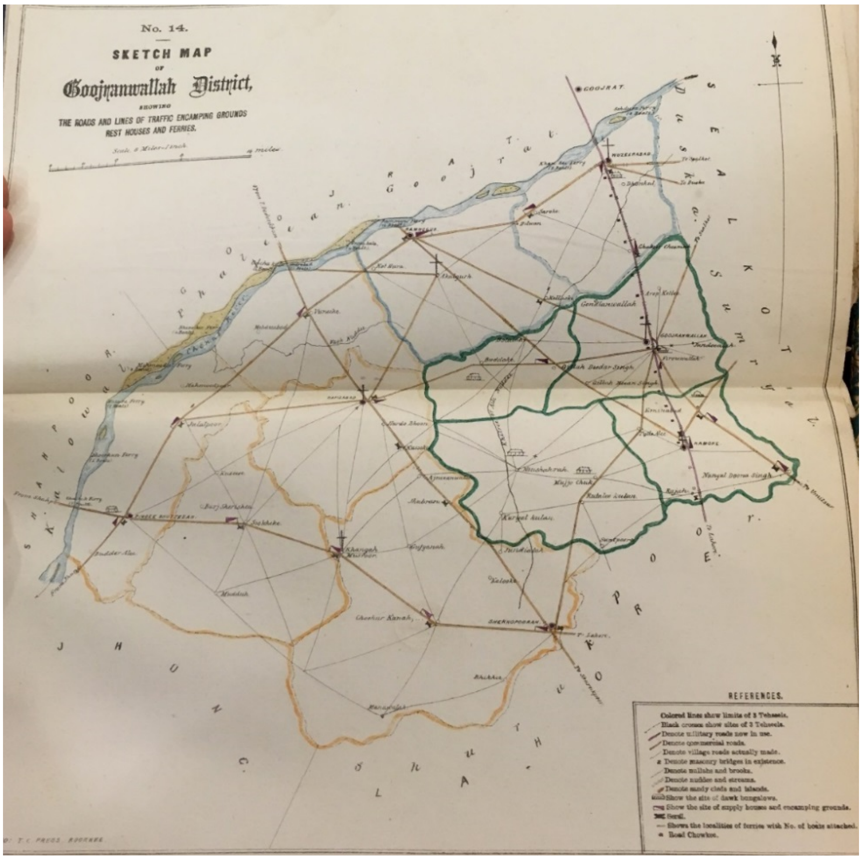

Plate 8 Sketch Map of Gujranwala District, showing the roads and lines of traffic encamping grounds, rest houses and ferries.

Plate 9 Sketch Map of Gujranwala District, showing the locality of schools and the state of education.

Appendix II – Maps of Gujrat District[2]

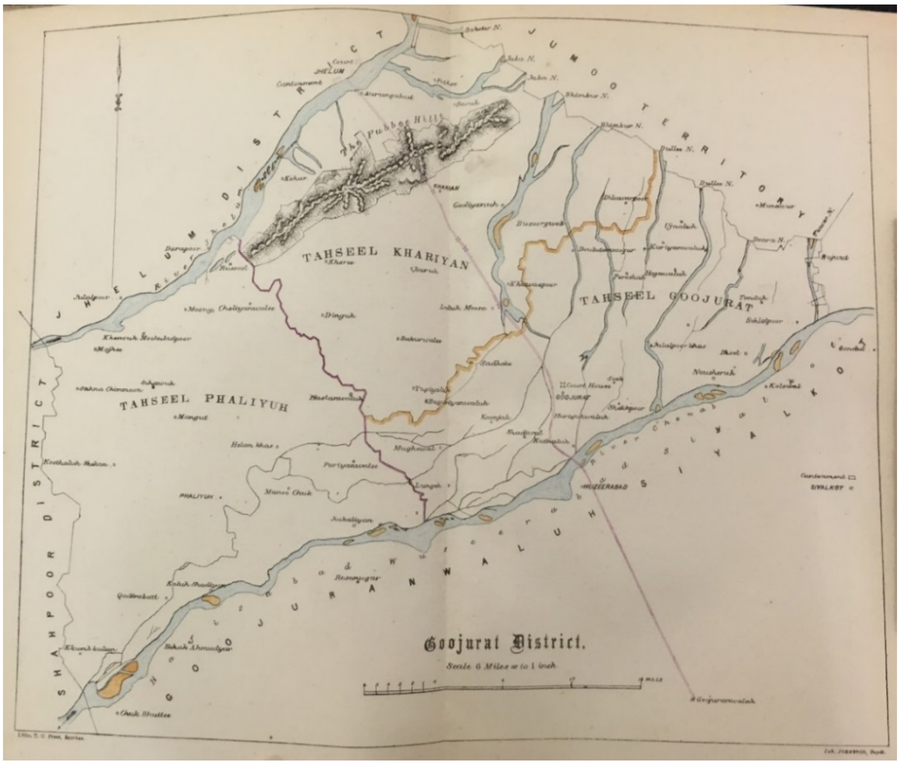

Plate 1 Map of Gujrat District, showing main tahsils.

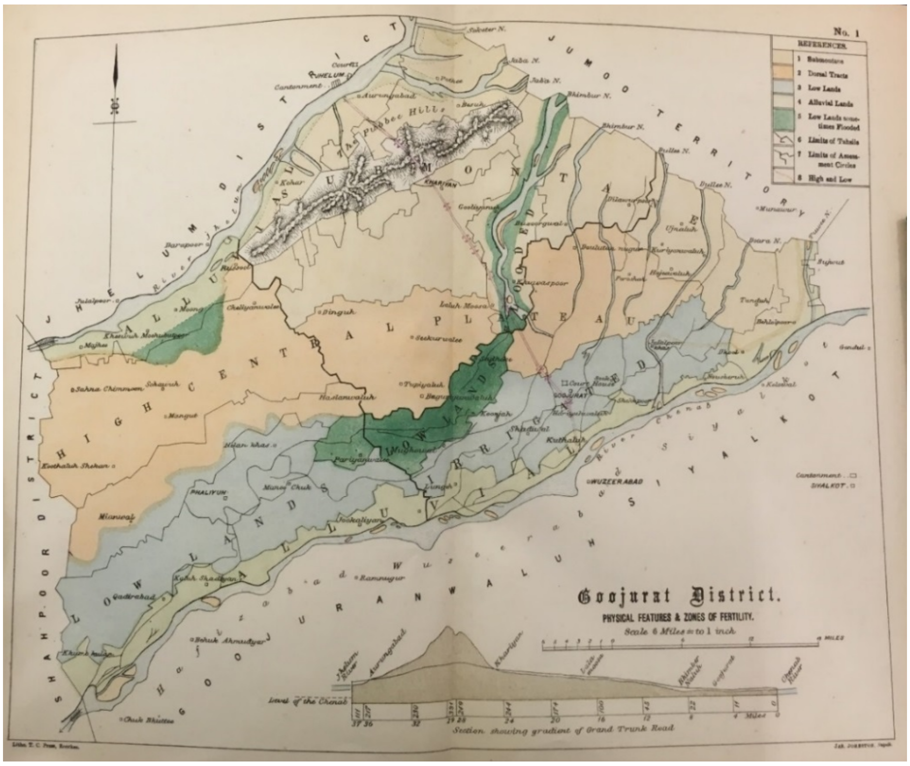

Plate 2 Map of Gujrat District, showing physical features and zones of fertility.

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[2] *Maps connected with the Report on the Second Regular Settlement of the Gujrat District, 1867-1868* (Calcutta, 1869), accessed at the India Office Record and Maps Collections, British Library, London, bookshelf no. 14.d.12. (Photographed by Author)

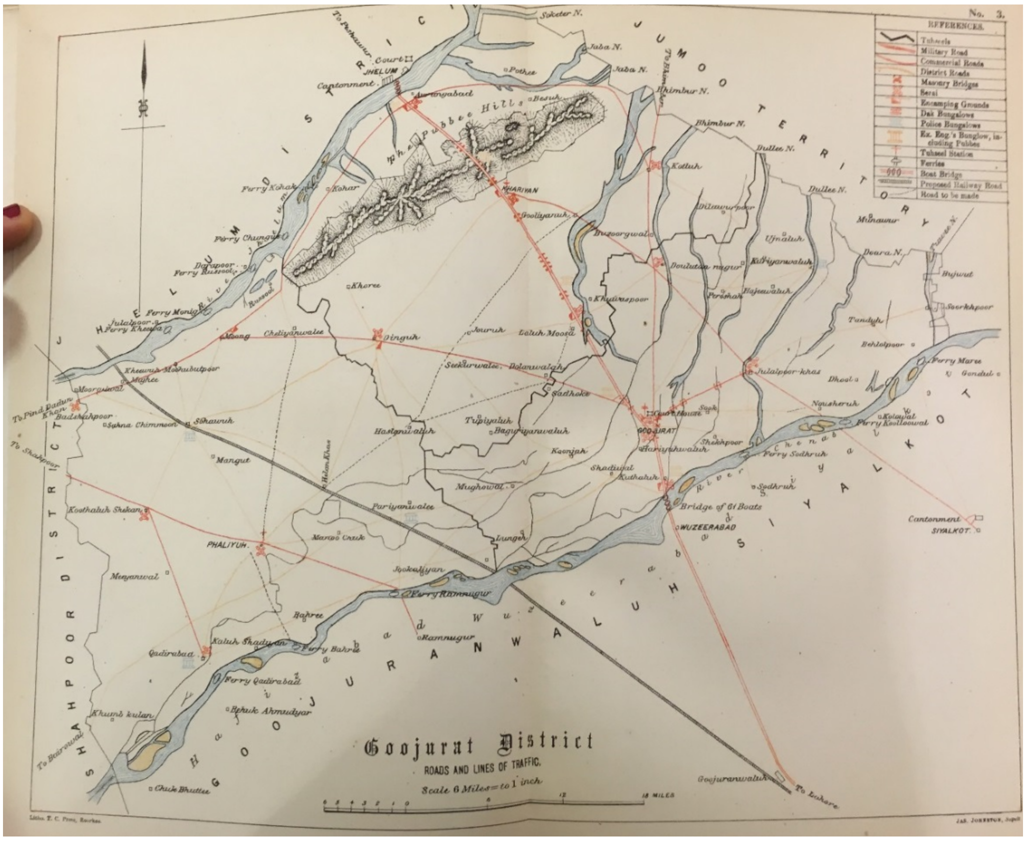
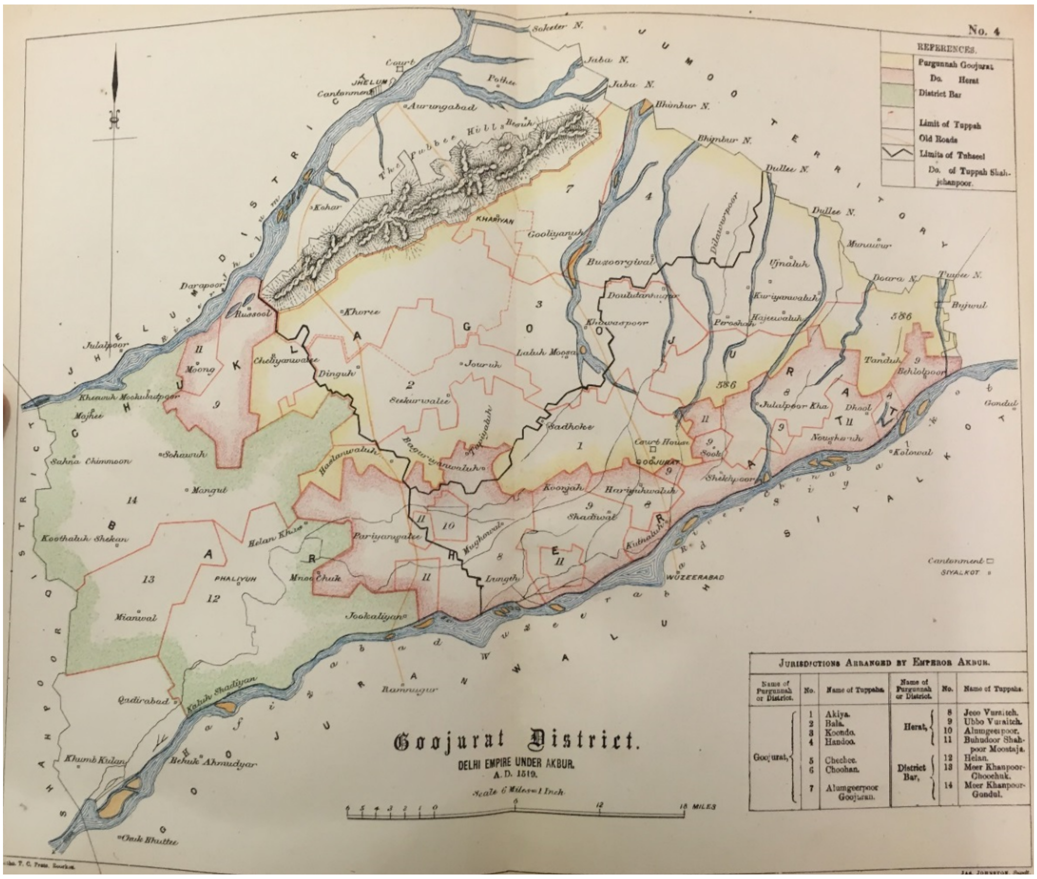


Plate 3 Map of Gujrat District, showing roads and lines of traffic.



JURISDICTIONS ARRANGED BY EMPEROR AKBUR.

Name of Purgunnah or District.	No.	Name of Tuppaha.	Name of Purgunnah or District.	No.	Name of Tuppaha.
Goojurat,	1	Akiya.	Herat,	8	Jeeo Vuraitch.
	2	Bala.		9	Ubbo Vuraitch.
	3	Koondo.		10	Alumgeerpoor.
	4	Handoo.		11	Buhudoor Shahpoor Moostaja.
	5	Cheehee.	District Bar,	12	Helan.
	6	Choohan.		13	Meer Khanpoor-Choochuk.
	7	Alumgeerpoor Goojuran.		14	Meer Khanpoor-Gondul.

Plate 4 Map of Gujrat District, showing Delhi Empire under Akbar, A.D. 1519.

Plate 5 Map of Gujrat District, showing Partition by Sikh Sirdars, A.D. 1874.

Plate 6 Map of Gujrat District, showing Sikh Rule, A.D. 1810.

Plate 7 Map of Gujrat District, showing old zails.

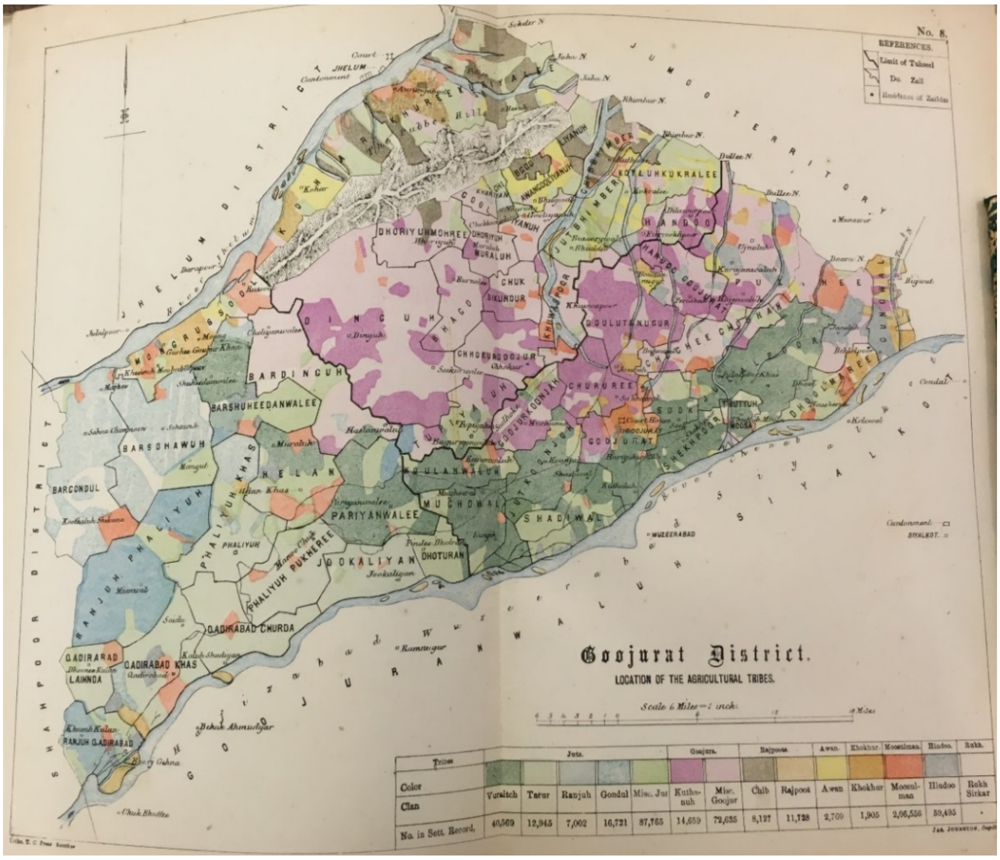
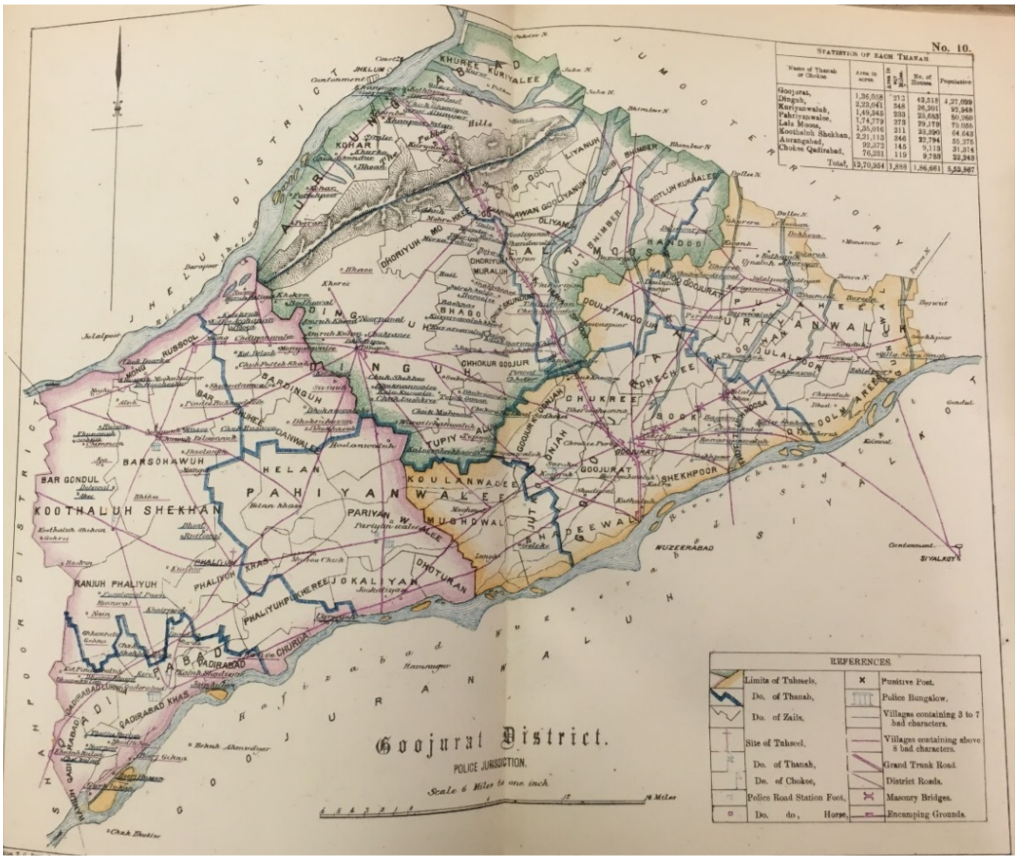
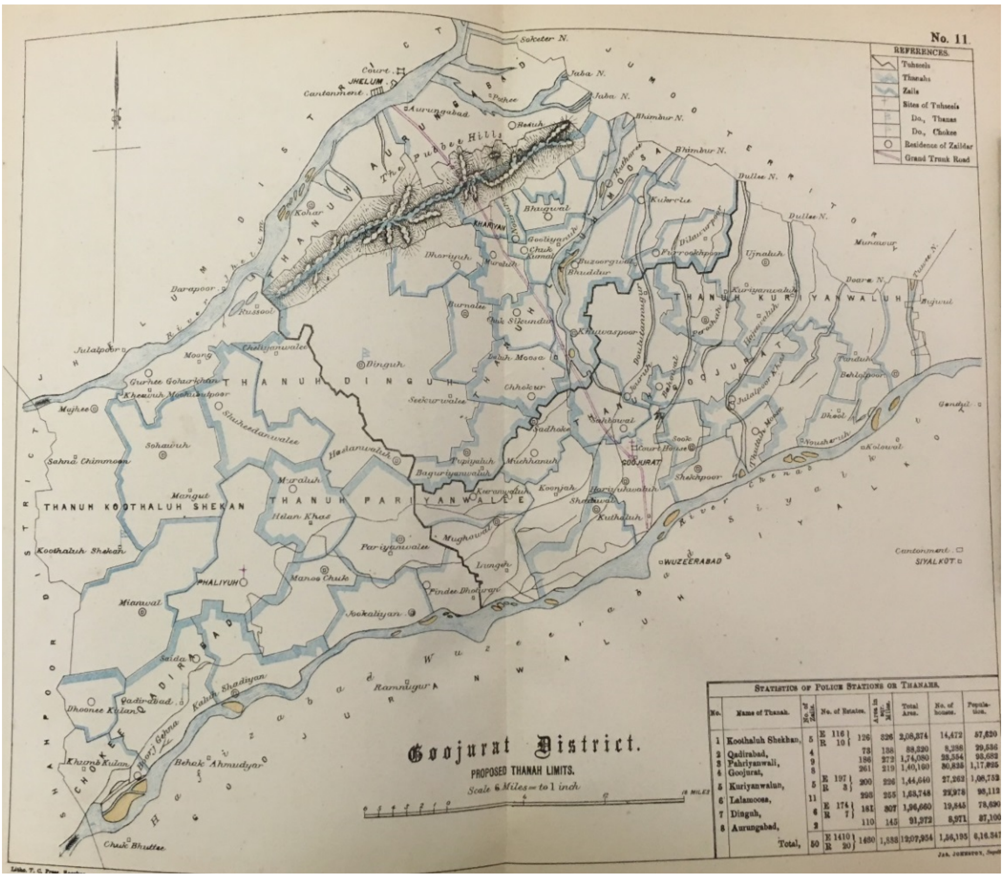


Plate 8 Map of Gujrat District, showing location of the agricultural tribes.



Statistics of each Thanah				
Name of Thanah or Chokee	Area in acres.	Area in sq. M.	No. of Houses	Population
Goojurat,	1,36,058	213	42,518	1,27,099
Dinguh,	2,23,041	348	26,301	92,948
Kuriyanwaluh,	1,49,345	233	23,683	80,260
Pahriyanwalee,	1,74,779	273	29,179	79,055
Lala Moosa,	1,35,016	211	23,390	64,643
Koothaluh Shekhan,	2,21,113	346	22,794	55,375
Aurangabad,	92,372	145	9,113	31,314
Chokee Qadirabad,	76,231	119	9,788	22,248
Total,	12,70,954	1,888	1,86,661	5,52,867

Plate 9 Map of Gujrat District, showing police jurisdiction.



Statistics of Police Stations or Thanahs.								
No.	Name of Thanah.	No. of Zails.	No. of Estates.		Area in sq. Miles.	Total Area.	No. of houses.	Population.
1	Koothaluh Shekhan,	5	E 116 R 10	126	326	2,08,374	14,472	57,620
2	Qadirabad,	4		73	138	88,320	8,288	29,536
3	Pahriyanwali,	9		186	272	1,74,080	23,554	93,682
4	Goojurat,	8		261	219	1,40,160	30,835	1,17,925
5	Kuriyanwalun,	5	E 197 R 3	200	226	1,44,640	27,262	1,06,752
6	Lalamoosa,	11		293	255	1,63,748	22,978	98,112
7	Dinguh,	6	E 174 R 7	181	307	1,96,660	19,845	78,690
8	Aurungabad,	2		110	145	91,372	8,971	37,100
	Total,	50	E 1410 R 20	1430	1,888	12,07,934	1,56,195	6,16,347

Plate 10 Map of Gujrat District, showing proposed thannah limits.

Plate 11 Map of Gujrat District, showing schools, 1867.

Plate 12 Map of Gujrat District, showing fiscal divisions.

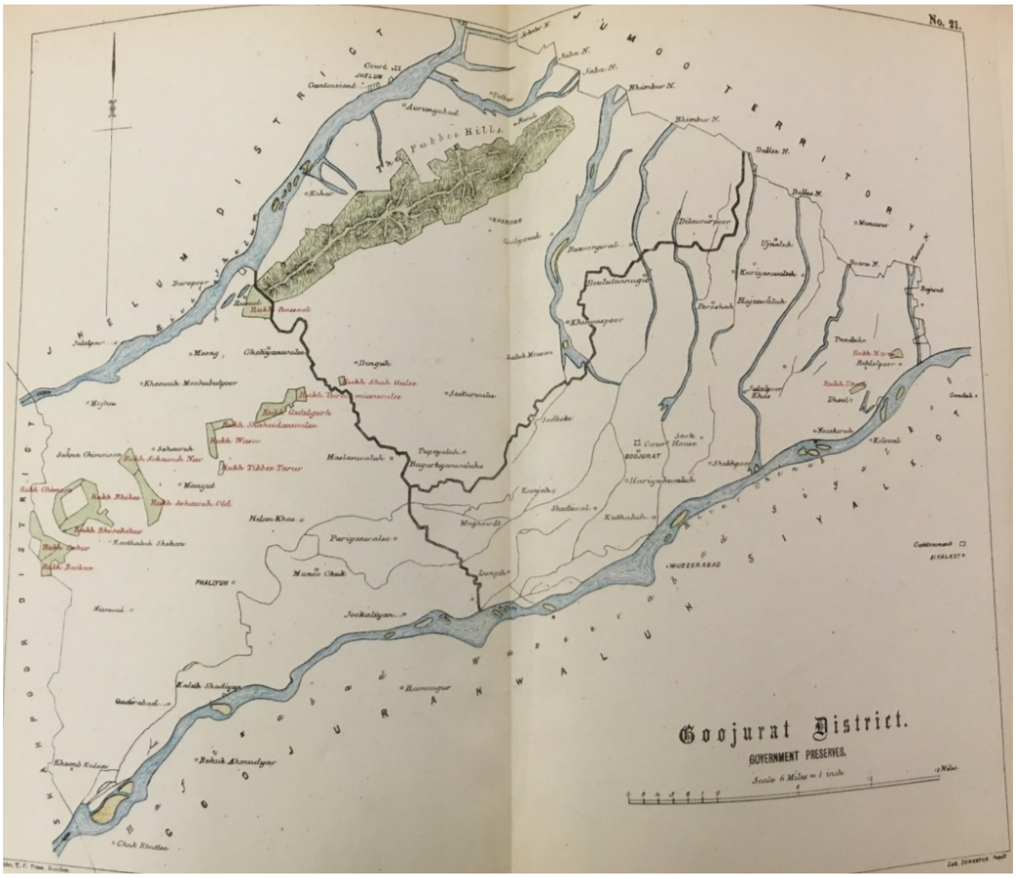


Plate 13 Map of Gujrat District, showing government preserves.

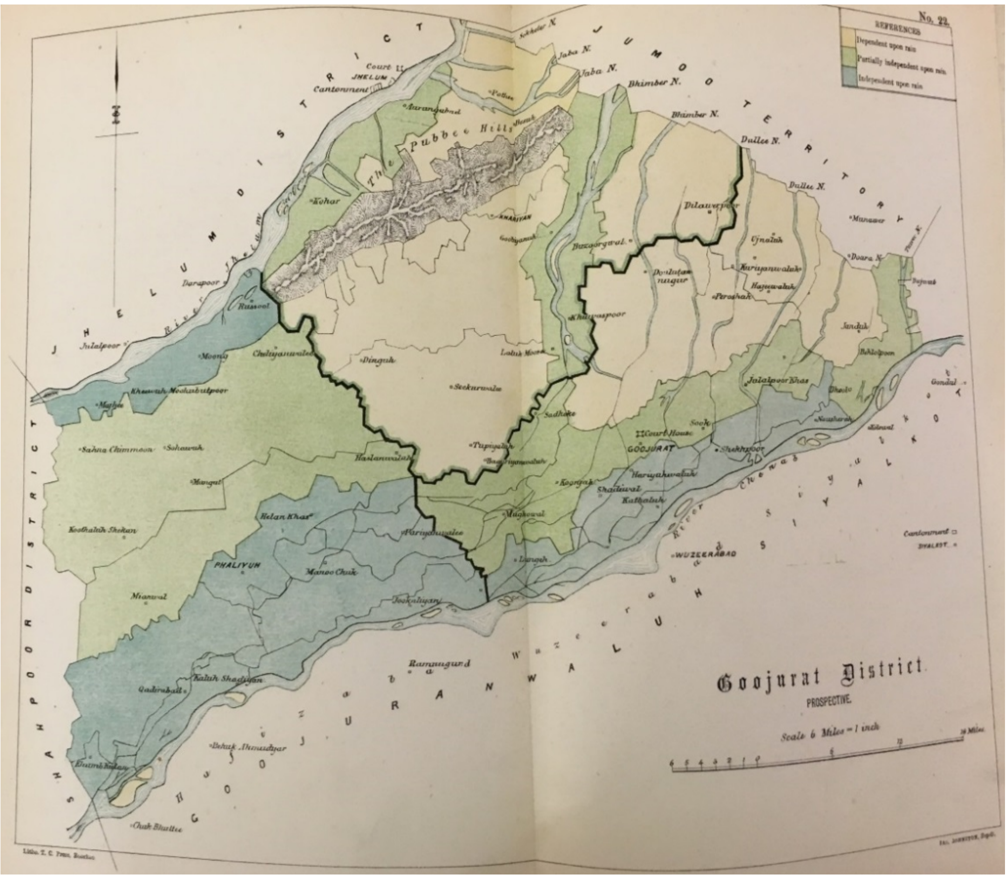


Plate 14 Map of Gujrat District, showing main prospective (dependence upon rain).

Appendix III– Maps of Jhang District[3]

Plate 1 Map of Jhang District, showing the localities of tribes.

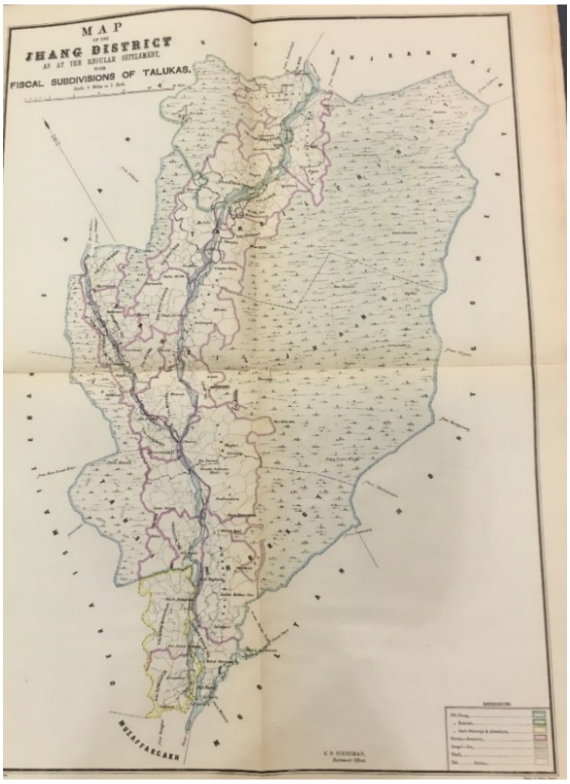


Plate 2 Map of Jhang District, as at the regular settlement, with fiscal subdivisions of talukas.

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[3] *Maps connected with the Settlement Report of the Jhang District.* (Calcutta, 1886), accessed at the India Office Record and Maps Collections, British Library, London, bookshelf no. 15.c.7. (Photographed by Author)

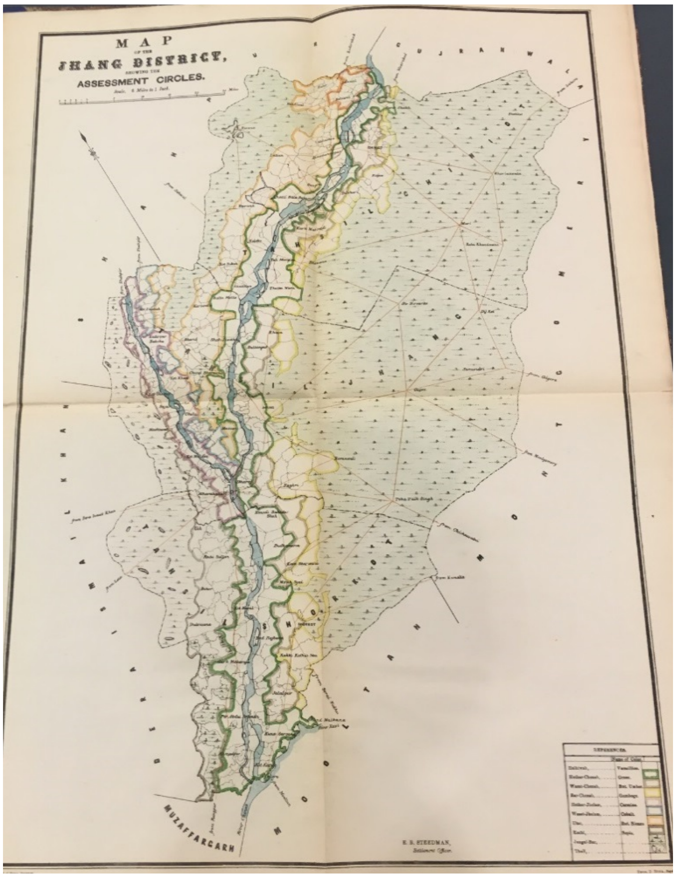

Plate 3 Map of Jhang District, showing the assessment circles.

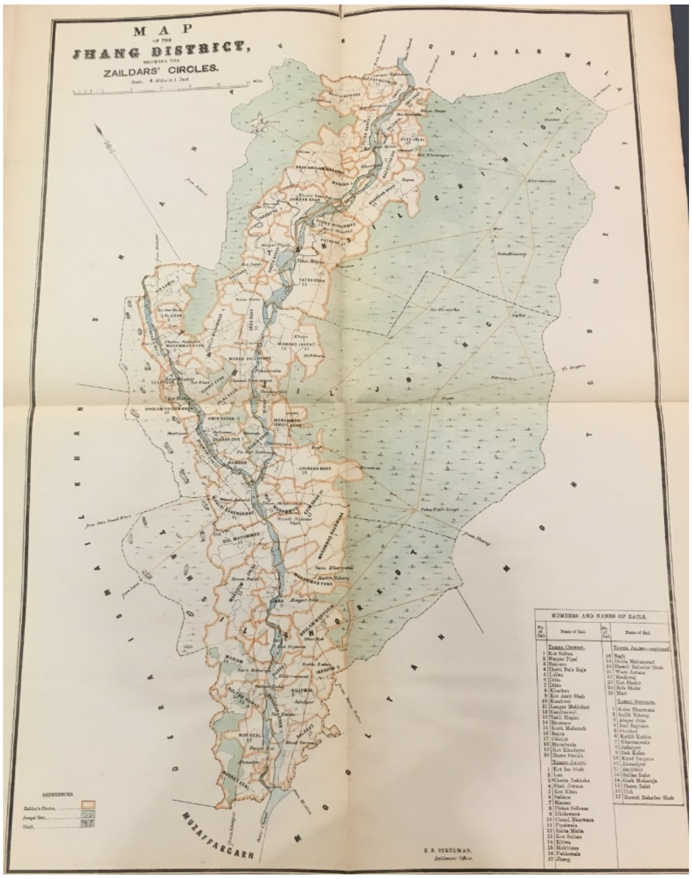

Plate 4 Map of Jhang District, showing the zaildars' circles.

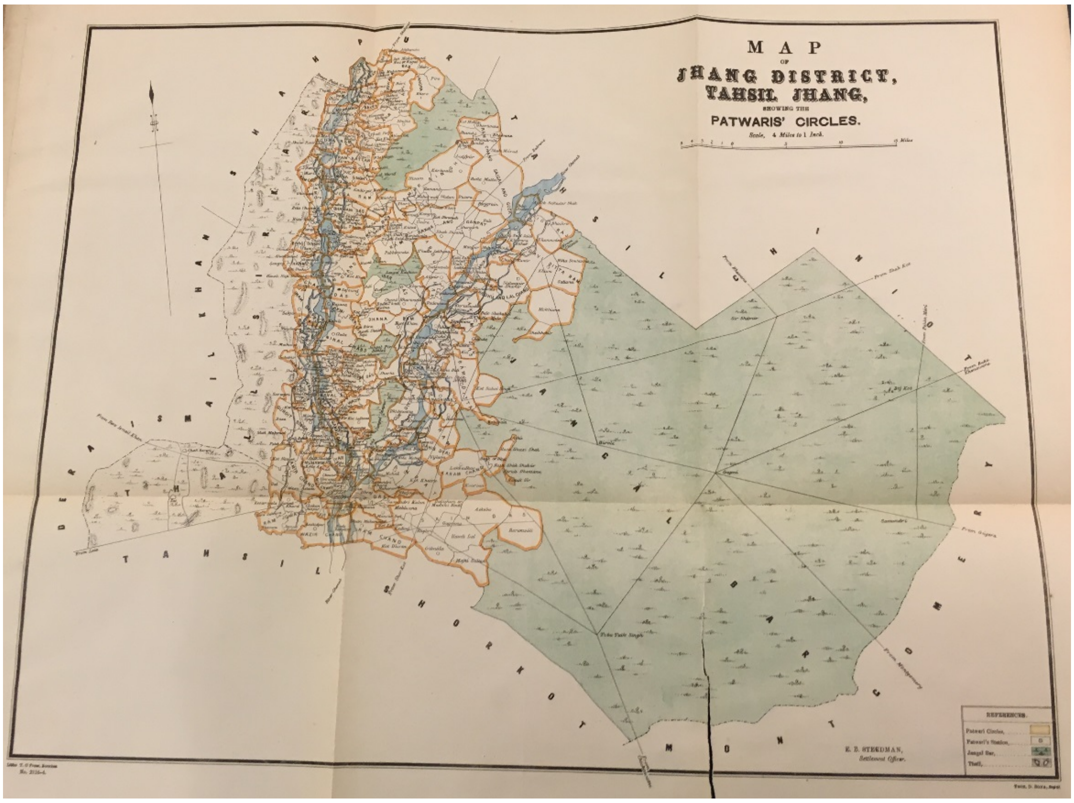

Plate 5 Map of Jhang District, Tahsil Jhang, showing the patwaris' circles.

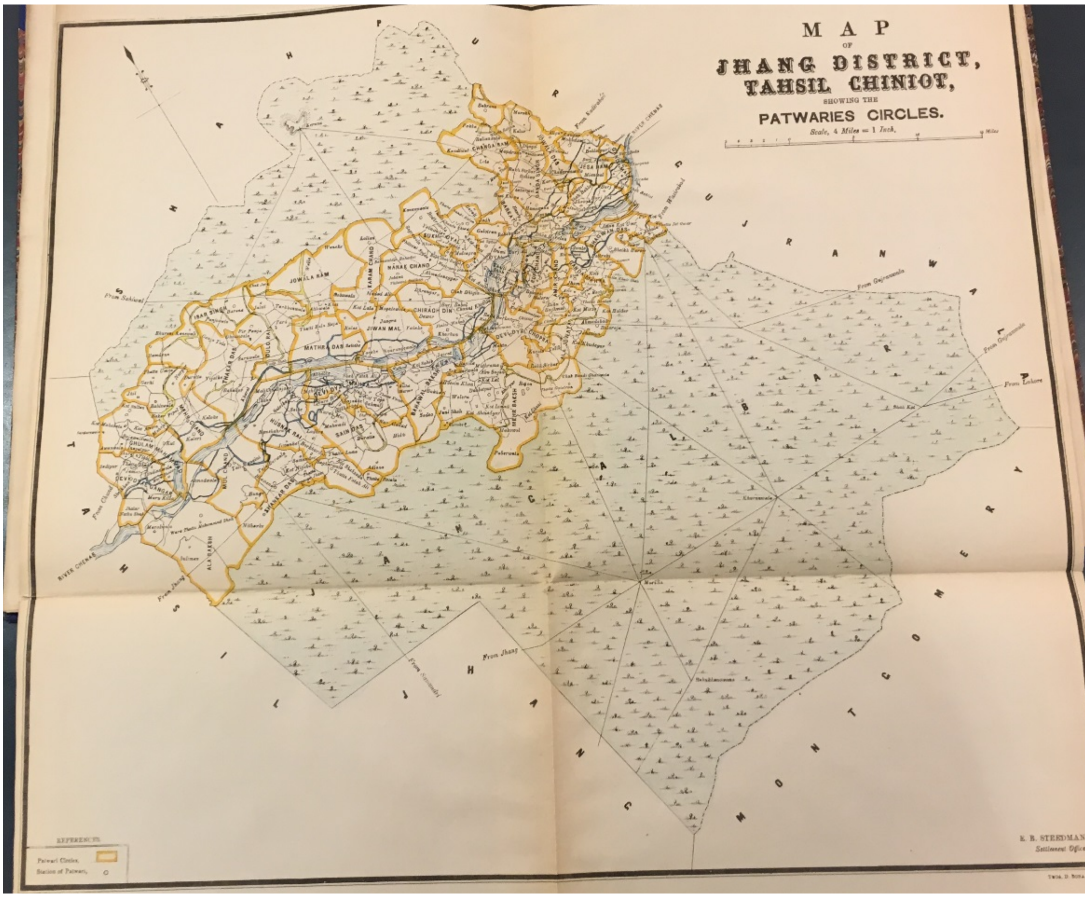

Plate 6 Map of Jhang District, Tahsil Chiniot, showing the patwaris' circles.

Plate 7 Map of Jhang District, Tahsil Shorkot, showing the patwaris' circles.

Appendix IV– Maps of Montgomery District[4]

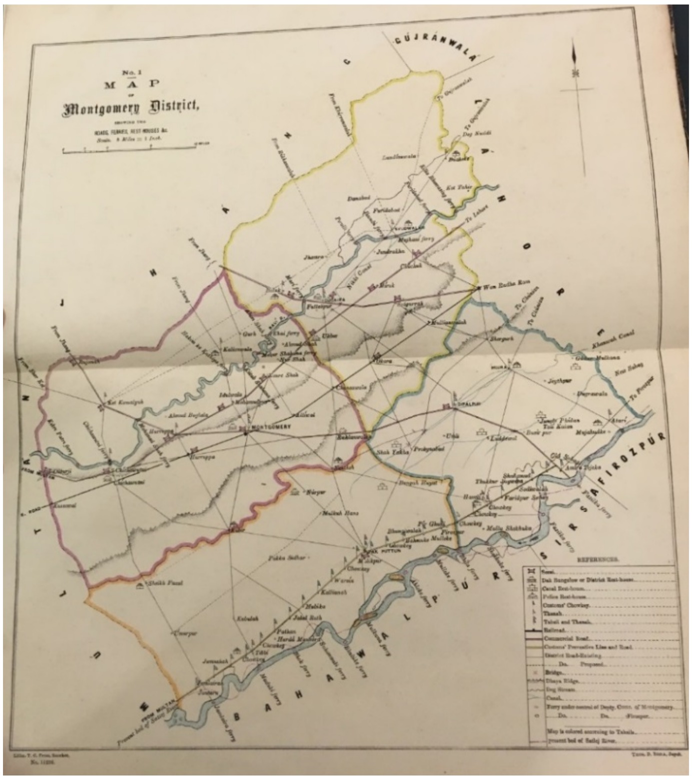

Plate 1 Map of Montgomery District, showing the roads, ferries, rest-houses.

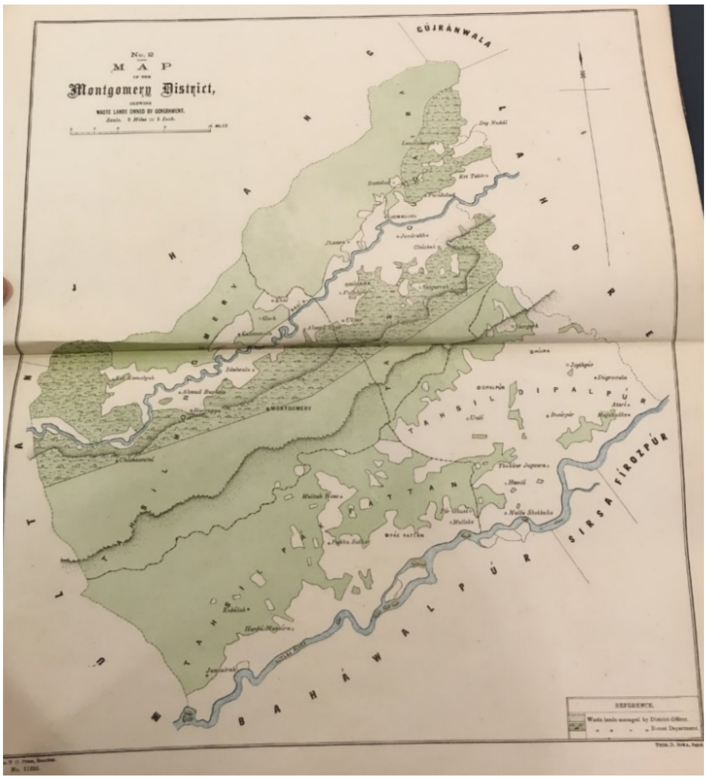

Plate 2 Map of Montgomery District, showing the waste lands owned by the Government.

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[4] *Maps connected with the Revised Land Revenue Settlement Report of the Montgomery District, 1878* (Calcutta, 1878), accessed at the India Office Record and Maps Collections, British Library, London, bookshelf no. 17.d.23. (Photographed by Author)

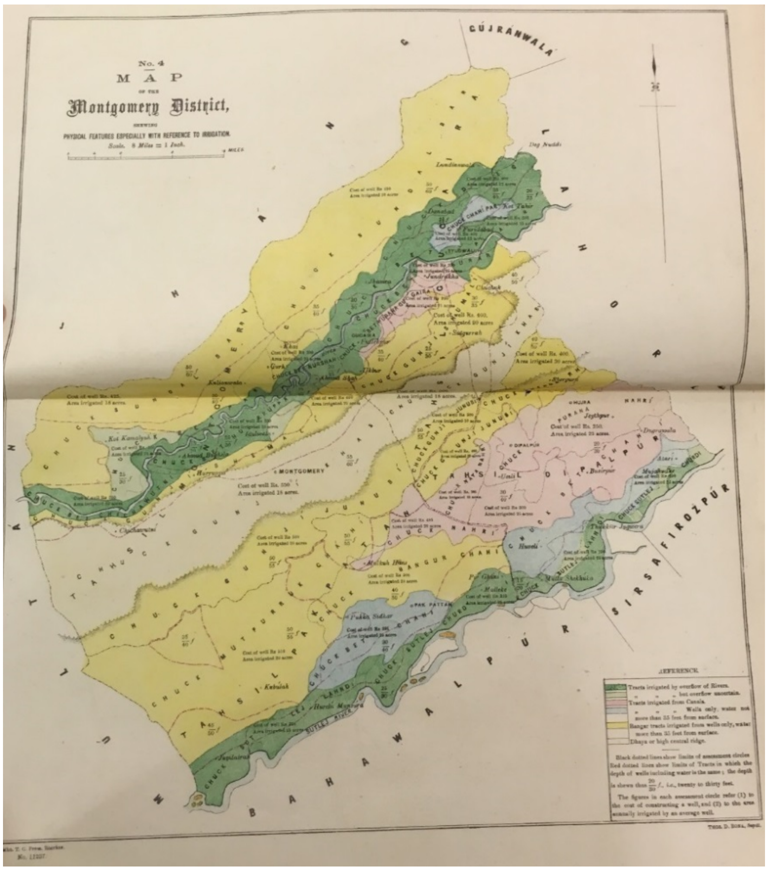

Plate 3 Map of Montgomery District, showing physical features with reference to irrigation.

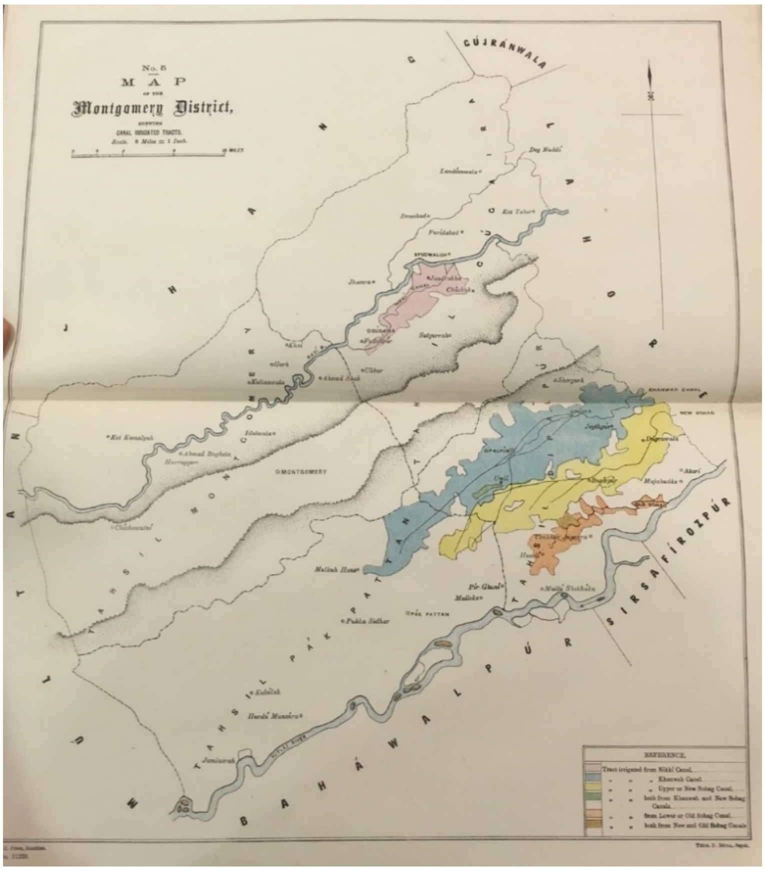

Plate 4 Map of Montgomery District, showing canal irrigated tracts.

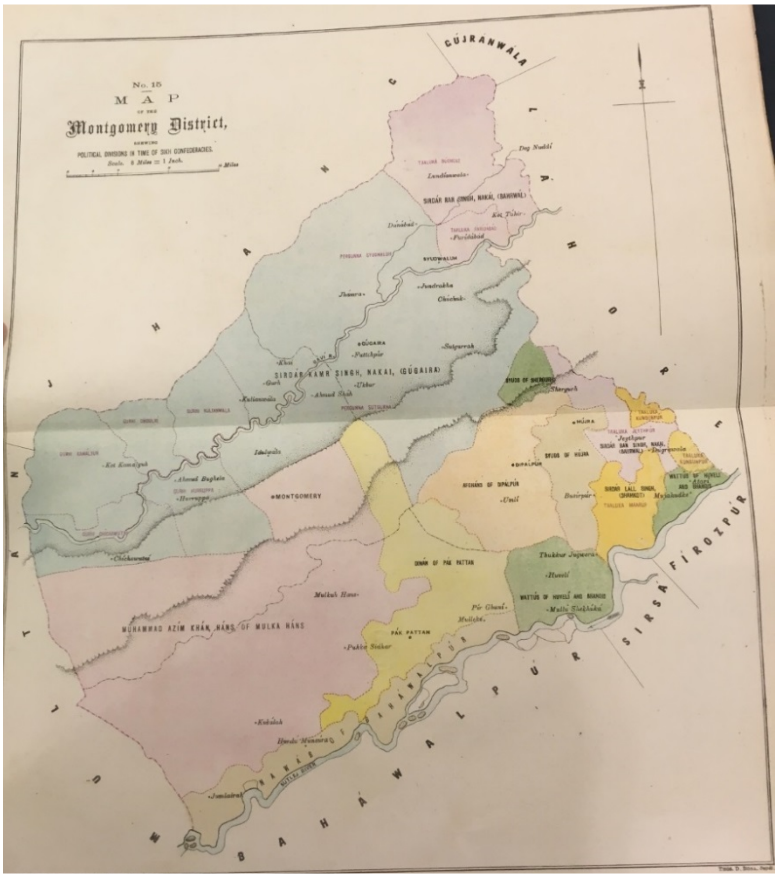

Plate 5 Map of Montgomery District, showing political divisions in time of Sikh confederancies.

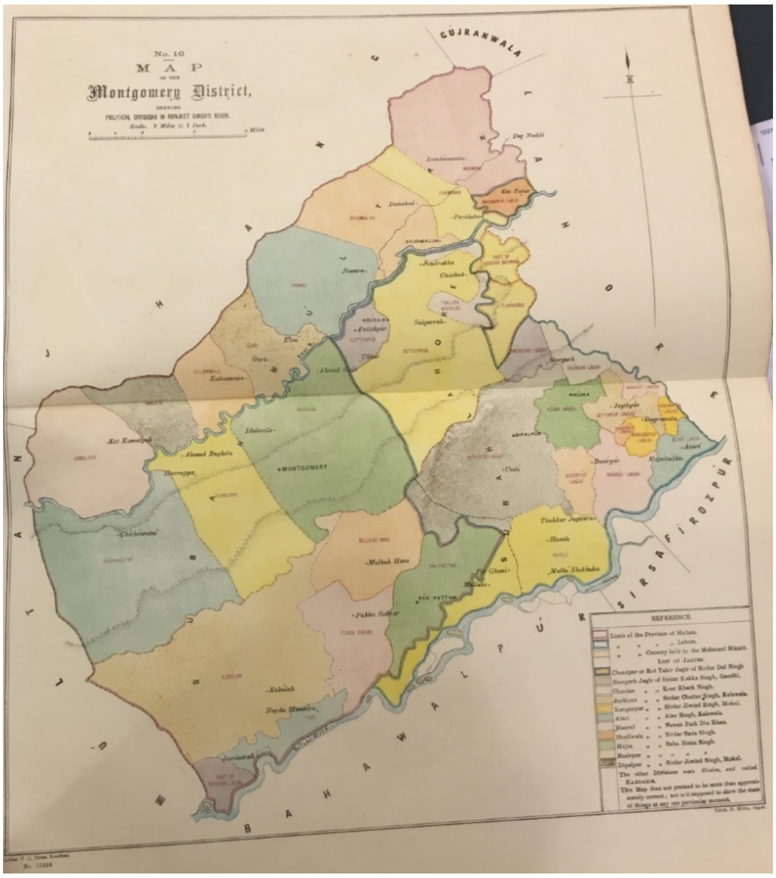

Plate 6 Map of Montgomery District, showing political divisons in Runjeet Singh's reign.

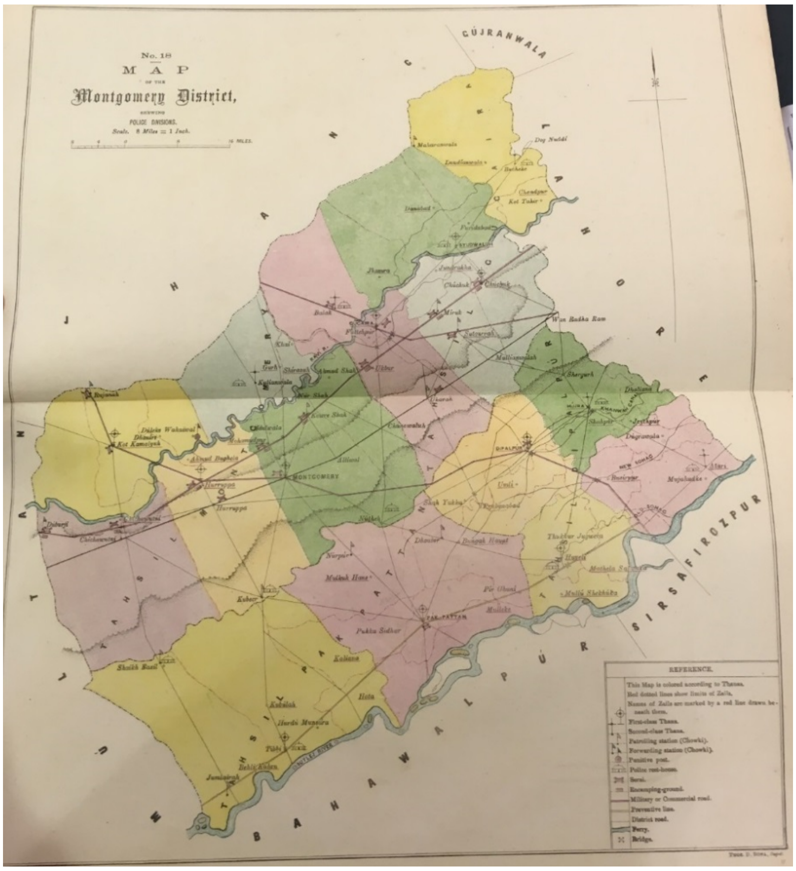

Plate 7 Map of Montgomery District, showing police divisions.

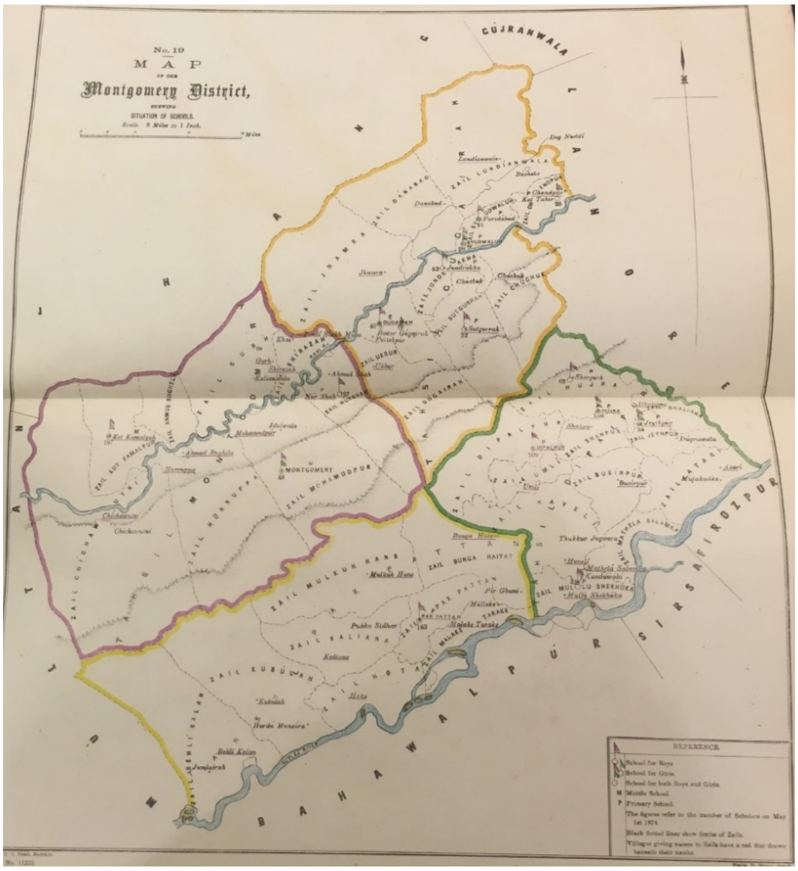

Plate 8 Map of Montgomery District, showing situation of schools.

Appendix V – Architecture of Power and Governance: Photographic Survey by the Author during the Fieldwork

Plate 1 Front view of the DCO Office, Gujranwala, showing the covered portico added in present times at the entrance of old colonial building.

Plate 2 Side view of the DCO Office, Gujranwala, showing the red brick tiles Gotka, semi-circular arched veranda and high roofed rooms.


Plate 3 View of the corridor of DCO Office, Gujranwala, showing the wooden roof and doors.


Plate 4 View of the corridor of DCO Office, Gujranwala, showing the utilization of corridor as waiting space for people and parking for vehicle.

Plate 5 View of DCO Office, Gujranwala, showing the wooden roof and door.

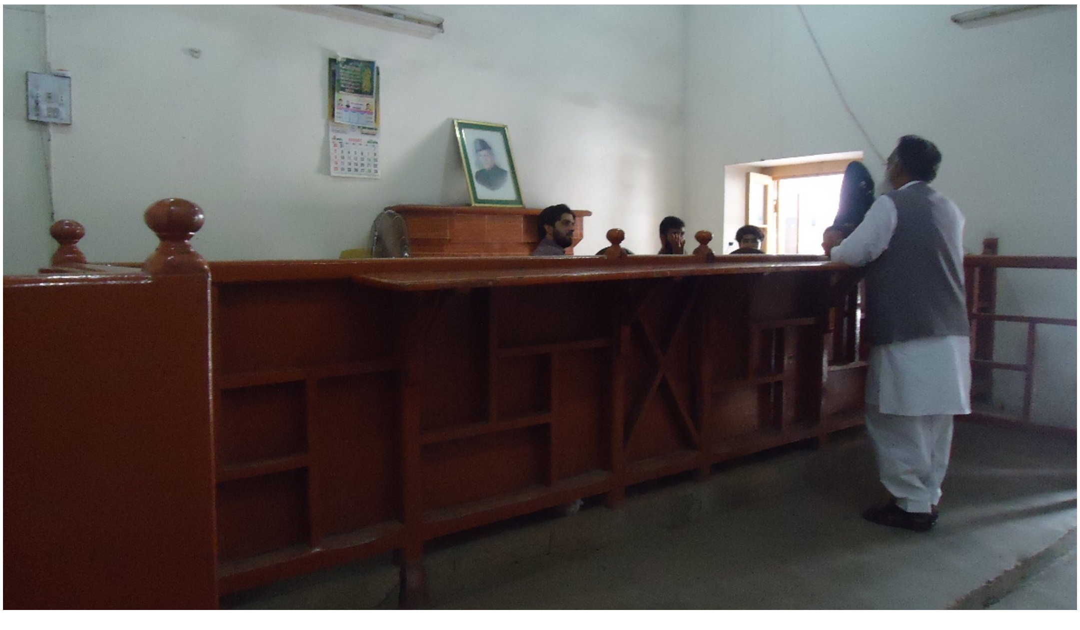

Plate 6 View of the court room, in DCO Office, Gujranwala.

Plate 7 View of the wooden window of the record room, in the DCO Office, Gujranwala.

Plate 8 High wooden roof of record room with wooden ventilators, in the DCO Office, Gujranwala.

Plate 9 View of DCO Office, Jhang, showing its brick cladded walls with semi-circular arched veranda and semi-circular office rooms.

Plate 10 View of the DCO Office, Jhang, showing its semi-circular veranda.

Plate 11 Interior of DCO Office, Jhang, showing the semi-circular arch.

Plate 12 High roof of DCO Office, Jhang, showing the wooden roof and wooden ventilators.

Plate 13 Wooden door of DCO Office, Jhang.

Plate 14 View of record room, DCO Office, Jhang.

Plate 15 View of the roof of record room, DCO Office, Jhang, showing wind tower for light and air.

Plate 16 View of corridor of DCO Office, Jhang, showing the usage of corridor space for waiting and parking the vehicles.

Plate 17 View of the corner of the DCO Office, Sialkot, showing the building raised on a platform as well as its semi-circular arched veranda.

Plate 18 View of DCO Office, Sialkot, showing its circular room.

Plate 19 View of DCO Office, Sialkot, showing its circular rooms and low-roofed veranda with semi-circular arches.

Plate 20 View of the courtyard of DCO Office, Sialkot.

Plate 21 View of DCO Office, Sialkot, showing its corridor space used as waiting area and parking for vehicles, and its wooden roof, windows and doors.

Plate 22 Room in DCO Office, Sialkot, showing its wooden roof with wind tower and ventilator.

Plate 23 Side view of the old building of DCO Office, Gujrat.

Plate 24 View of the old building of DCO Office, Gujrat, showing the high roofed rooms, and also recently built rooms in the low roof veranda.

Plate 25 Boundary wall of District Cooperative Office, Sialkot.

Plate 26 View of front lawn of District Cooperative Office, Sialkot.

Plate 27 Veranda of District Cooperative Office, Sialkot, showing use of space as parking for vehicle.

Plate 28 Front view of District Cooperative Office, Sialkot, showing the front veranda with semi-circular arches and exposed brickwork.

Plate 29 View of window, District Cooperative Office, Sialkot.

Plate 30 Wooden doors of District Cooperative Office, Sialkot.

Plate 31 Court room of AC (Assistant Commissioner) Office, Sialkot, showing the Kashmiri-styled woodwork.

Plate 32 Another court room of AC (Assistant Commissioner) Office, Sialkot, showing the Kashmiri-styled woodwork.

Plate 33 High roof of court room in AC Office, Sialkot, showing ventilators and wooden beams.

Plate 34 View of corridor of AC Office, Sialkot, showing the use of space for waiting and parking.

Plate 35 View of Office of Executive District Officer, showing its roof drainage.

Plate 36 Office of Revenue Department, Sargodha, showing the ventilators in its high-roofed rooms and also the roof drainage.

Plate 37 Corridor of Revenue Department Office, Sargodha, showing its wooden roof.

Plate 38 Record Room in the Office of Revenue Department, Sargodha, showing its high wooden roof, window and ventilator.

Plate 39 Front view of General Record Room, Sialkot, showing its three semi-circular archways.

Plate 40 View of General Record Room, Sialkot from front lawn of DCO Office, Sialkot.

Plate 41 Side view of General Record Room, Sialkot, showing three levels of building.

Plate 42 View of General Record Room, Sialkot, showing its highest level part with large rectangular windows, arched ventilators and roof drainage.

Plate 43 Details of ventilator, brickwork, cornice and roof drainage, in General Record Room, Sialkot.

Plate 44 Boundary wall and entrance gate of District Council Hall, Jhang.

Plate 45 Rear view of the entrance gate of District Council Hall, Jhang.

Plate 46 View of main building of District Council Hall, Jhang.

Plate 47 View of corridor, District Council Hall, Jhang.

Plate 48 View of the covered portico towards the garden, of District Council Hall, Jhang.

Plate 49 View of corridor and portico, of District Council Hall, Jhang.

Plate 50 View of District Council, Lyallpur from M.A. Jinnah Road.

Plate 51 Main entrance gate of District Council, Lyallpur.

Plate 52 Rear view of the side entrance gate, of District Council, Lyallpur.

Plate 53 View of District Council, Lyallpur, with its main entrance gate.

Plate 54 Main building of District Council, Lyallpur.

Plate 55 View of District Council, Lyallpur.

Plate 56 Side view of the main building of District Council, Lyallpur.

Plate 57 Minarets and entrance portico of the District Council, Lyallpur.

Plate 58 Side wing of the main building of District Council, Lyallpur.

Plate 59 Corner of the District Council, Lyallpur, showing the details of blue tiles, brick work, cornice and arched verandas.

Plate 60 New building of District Court, Gujrat, built during post-colonial times.

Plate 61 Old building of District Court, Gujrat.

Plate 62 Old building of District Court, Gujrat, showing its brickwork, as well as the recently added windows.

Plate 63 Veranda of District Court, Gujrat, showing the recently added concrete benches and plaster on its pillars.

Plate 64 Civil Court, Jhang.

Plate 65 Civil Court, Jhang, showing its arched veranda.

Plate 66 Lawyers' offices on the read side of the building of Civil Court, Jhang.

Plate 67 Extended offices of lawyers on the rear side of building of Civil Court, Jhang.

Plate 68 Veranda in the Civil Court, Jhang.

Plate 69 Veranda in the Civil Court, Jhang, showing the wooden roof, arcaded veranda, and recently added concrete benches for waiting.

Plate 70 Interior of a court room in Civil Court, Jhang.

Plate 71 Interior view of a court room in Civil Court, Jhang, showing its high roof with wooden ventilators.

Plate 72 Front view of District Court, Lyallpur.

Plate 73 Parking lot and front view of District Court, Lyallpur.

Plate 74 The projected rooms of District Court, Lyallpur, showing the brickwork patterns.

Plate 75 View of District Court, Lyallpur, showing details of brickwork and openings.

Plate 76 Window in the District Court, Lyallpur, showing the recent efforts of the building's renovation.

Plate 77 District Court, Lyallpur, showing the shaded verandas.

Plate 78 District Court, Lyallpur, showing the details on brickwork on the rear side of the building.

Plate 79 District Court, Lyallpur, showing the windows and brickwork on the rear façade.

Plate 80 View showing the old District Court building and the nearby newly built DCO Office building, at Civil Station of Lyallpur.

Plate 81 Newly constructed DCO Office, Lyallpur, adjacent to and taking inspiration from District Court, Lyallpur.

Plate 82 Court Room in the recently constructed DCO Office building, Lyallpur.

Plate 83 Main entrance building of District Jail, Sialkot.

Plate 84 Entrance building of Central Jail, Montgomery.

Plate 85 An old house in the residential area of Central Jail, Montgomery.

Plate 86 View of residential area of Central Jail, Montgomery.

Plate 87 Agricultural land in the Central Jail, Montgomery.

Plate 88 DPO residence in the Central Jail, Montgomery.

Plate 89 DPO residence in the Central Jail, Montgomery.

Plate 90 DPO residence in the Central Jail, Montgomery.

Plate 91 District Jail, Sargodha.

Plate 92 Double storey prison block in District Jail, Sargodha.[1]

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[1] Courtesy: District Jail, Sargodha.

Plate 93 Prison block with arched veranda and courtyard in District Jail, Sargodha.[2]

Plate 94 Single storey prison block in District Jail, Sargodha.[3]

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[2] Courtesy: District Jail, Sargodha.
[3] Courtesy: District Jail, Sargodha.

Plate 95 Prison block in District Jail, Sargodha, showing the projected veranda with semi-circular arches.[4]

Plate 96 View of central garden in District Jail, Sheikhupura.

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[4] Courtesy: District Jail, Sargodha.

Plate 97 District Jail, Sheikhupura, showing the prison block around central garden.

Plate 98 Prison block around central garden, in District Jail, Sheikhupura.

Plate 99 District Jail, Sheikhupura, showing the central garden and surrounding prison blocks.

Plate 100 veranda in front of cells in prison block, District Jail, Sheikhupura.

Plate 101 Entrance building of District Jail, Gujrat.

Plate 102 Single storey block in District Jail, Gujrat, similar in design to its prison blocks.

Plate 103 Courtyard and Front wing of Chenab Club, Lyallpur.

Plate 104 One storey wing of Chenab Club, Lyallpur.

Plate 105 Covered portico of one storey wing of Chenab Club, Lyallpur.

Plate 106 Chenab Club, Lyallpur.

Plate 107 Officers' Club, Jhang.

Plate 108 Officers' Club, Jhang, with garden in front.

Plate 109 Side view of Officers' Club, Jhang.

Plate 110 Front view of the Officers' Club, Jhang, showing its projected front veranda.

Plate 111 View of garden from the front veranda of Officers' Club, Jhang.

Plate 112 Embellishment on building of Officers' Club, Jhang, housing its name plate.

Plate 113 dak Bungalow, Sheikhupura.

Plate 114 Front view of dak Bungalow, Sheikhupura.

Plate 115 Projected entrance veranda of dak Bungalow, Sheikhupura.

Plate 116 Columns of front veranda of dak Bungalow, Sheikhupura.

Plate 117 View of corridor of dak Bungalow, showing its wooden roof, and recently installed tiled flooring.

Plate 118 Side view of building of dak Bungalow, Sheikhupura.

Plate 119 Post Box, outside the Railway Station of Montgomery.

Plate 120 Post Box, in the Railway Station of Sheikhupura.

Plate 121 Railway Bridge, at Aik Nullah, Sialkot.

Plate 122 Rail tracks of Railway Bridge, at Aik Nullah, Sialkot.

Plate 123 Rail track, at Railway Bridge of Aik Nullah, Sialkot, showing the construction year 1927.

Plate 124 Brick pillars of Railway Bridge, at Aik Nullah, Sialkot.

Plate 125 Entrance portico of the Railway Station, Gujranwala.

Plate 126 Railway Station, Gujranwala, showing its façade facing the platform.

Plate 127 View of Railway Station, Gujranwala, showing its long rectangular one storey brick building.

Plate 128 View of the veranda, in the building of Railway Station, Gujranwala.

Plate 129 View of platform of Railway Station, Gujranwala, showing its rail tracks and adjacent residential area.

Plate 130 Name plate on steel bridge on Railway Station, Gujrat, dates back to 1906.

Plate 131 Entrance of main building of Railway Station, Gujrat.

Plate 132 Roadside façade of main building, Railway Station, Gujrat.

Plate 133 View of platforms of Railway Station, Gujrat from the stations' steel bridge.

Plate 134 Steel structures in Railway Station, Gujrat.

Plate 135 Steel structures attached to main building, Railway Station, Gujrat, and view of steel bridge.

Plate 136 View showing the main building and other brick building of Railway Station, Gujrat.

Plate 137 Other brick building in the Railway Station, Gujrat.

Plate 138 Steel bridge, of Railway Station, Gujrat.

Plate 139 View of the Railway Station, Gujrat, showing its abandoned steel shed with triangular roof.

Plate 140 Steel shed with semi-circular roof on the platform of Railway Station, Gujrat.

Plate 141 Entrance to Railway Station, Sadar, Jhang.

Plate 142 Interior of entrance building of Railway Station, Sadar, Jhang.

Plate 143 View entrance building of Railway Station, Sadar, Jhang, from the platform.

Plate 144 View of brick buildings of Railway Station, Sadar, Jhang.

Plate 145 Railway Station, Sadar, showing its platform side facade with arcaded veranda.

Plate 146 Railway Station, Sadar, Jhang.

Plate 147 Steel bridge at Railway Station, Sadar, Jhang.

Plate 148 Ticketing booth and entrance of the Railway Station, Jhang City.

Plate 149 Platform side view of the building of Railway Station, Jhang City.

Plate 150 Projected out veranda of Railway Station, Jhang City.

Plate 151 View of Railway Station, Jhang City, showing its rail tracks and boundary wall to adjacent factory.

Plate 152 Steel shed outside the Railway Station, Jhang City.

Plate 153 Railway Station, Lyallpur.

Plate 154 View of building of Railway Station, Lyallpur, from roadside.

Plate 155 View of Railway Station, Lyallpur, showing its rail track, rear side of its main building with its steel structure.

Plate 156 View of Railway Station, Lyallpur from platform.

Plate 157 Steel shed attached to main building of Railway Station, Lyallpur, providing the waiting space for passengers.

Plate 158 View of Railway Station, Lyallpur, showing its steel bridge and other two-storey brick building.

Plate 159 View of Railway Station, Montgomery across Railway Road Bridge and Lower Bari Doab Canal.

Plate 160 Main building of Railway Station, Montgomery.

Plate 161 Entrance to Railway Station, Montgomery.

Plate 162 Corner of the main building of Railway Station, Montgomery.

Plate 163 View of main building of Railway Station, Montgomery, showing its barrel roof with pediment, and arcaded veranda towards the platform.

Plate 164 View of the main building of Railway Station, Montgomery, from platform, showing its arcaded veranda and decorative cornice.

Plate 165 View of veranda, of Railway Station, Montgomery, showing the barrel roof.

Plate 166 View of Railway Station, Montgomery, showing its main building, other brick building across the railway tracks, and steel shed on platform.

Plate 167 View of platform of Railway Station, Montgomery, showing its steel shed, and brick building.

Plate 168 Steel shed and brick building in the Railway Station, Montgomery, across its rail tracks and main building.

Plate 169 Steel bridge at Railway Station, Montgomery, connecting its platforms.

Plate 170 Brick building in Railway Station, Montgomery, labelled 'not in use'.

Plate 171 Another brick building in Railway Station, Montgomery, labelled 'not in use'.

Plate 172 Railway Station, Sargodha.

Plate 173 Main building of Railway Station, Sargodha.

Plate 174 Steel shed for second class passengers, and view of steel bridge connecting platforms. at Railway Station, Sargodha.

Plate 175 View of platform of Railway Station, Sargodha.

Plate 176 Steel Shed providing waiting at platform of Railway Station, Sargodha.


Plate 177 View of steel bridge at Railway Station, Sargodha.


Plate 178 Brick building for second class passengers at Railway Station, Sheikhupura.

Plate 179 View of brick building housing waiting area and ticket booking for second class pessengers at Railway Station, Sheikhupura.

Plate 180 View of main building of Railway Station, Sheikhupura.

Plate 181 Main building of Railway Station, Sheikhupura.

Plate 182 Main building of Railway Station, Sheikhupura, raised on a platform.

Plate 183 Entrance to main building of Railway Station, Sheikhupura.

Plate 184 Interior of entrance to main building of Railway Station, Sheikhupura.

Plate 185 Platform side entrance to main building of Railway Station, Sheikhupura.

Plate 186 Platform of Railway Station, Sheikhupura.

Plate 187 View of rail tracks, platforms, steel bridge at Railway Station, Sheikhupura.

Plate 188 View of steel bridge and shed at Railway Station, Sheikhupura.

Plate 189 Railway Station, Sialkot.

Plate 190 Main building of Railway Station, Sialkot.

Plate 191 Interior of main building of Railway Station, Sialkot.

Plate 192 Interior of Railway Station, Sialkot, showings its wooden roof, and semi-circular arches.

Plate 193 Ticketing area in the main building of Railway Station, Sialkot.

Plate 194 View of veranda in the main building of Railway Station, Sialkot.

Plate 195 Veranda in main building of Railway Station, Sialkot.

Plate 196 Steel sheds at Railway Station, Sialkot.

Plate 197 Rail tracks and steel shed at Railway Station, Sialkot.

Plate 198 Steel bridge at Railway Station, Sialkot.

Plate 199 Abandoned shed at Railway Station, Sialkot.

Plate 200 Interior of abandoned shed at Railway Station, Sialkot.

Appendix VI – Architecture of Economy: Photographic Survey by the Author during the Fieldwork

Plate 1 Clock Tower or Ghanta Ghar, Lyallpur.

Plate 2 Inscription on marble slab of Clock Tower, Lyallpur.

Plate 3 Full view of Clock Tower, Lyallpur.

Plate 4 Corner view of Clock Tower, Lyallpur.

Plate 5 Ground floor of Clock Tower, Lyallpur.

Plate 6 Pediment and columns on ground floor of Clock Tower, Lyallpur.

Plat 7 Details of arch opening and window on ground floor of Clock Tower, Lyallpur.

Plate 8 View of ground and first floor of Clock Tower, Lyallpur.

Plate 9 View of first floor of Clock Tower, Lyallpur.

Plate 10 View of first and second floor of Clock Tower, Lyallpur.

Plate 11 Full view of Clock Tower, Lyallpur.

Plate 12 View of second and third floor of Clock Tower, Lyallpur.

Plate 13 View of top floor of Clock Tower, Lyallpur.

Plate 14 Clock Tower OR Ghanta Ghar, Gujranwala.

Plate 15 View of Clock Tower, Gujranwala from bazaar street.

Plate 16 View of Clock Tower, Gujranwala, from another bazaar street.

Plate 17 View of Clock Tower, Gujranwala, showing details of its floors.

Plate 18 View of Clock Tower from roof of a nearby building, showing its top floors.

Plate 19 Clock Tower, Sialkot in the Iqbal Square.

Plate 20 View of Clock Tower, Sialkot.

Plate 21 Name plate erected on Clock Tower, Sialkot.

Plate 22 View of Clock Tower, Sialkot, showing all its floors.

Plate 23 View of Clock Tower, Sialkot, showing its first two floors.

Plate 24 View of Clock Tower, Sialkot, showing its first three floors.

Plate 25 View of Clock Tower, Sialkot, showing its top floors.

Plate 26 Top floors of Clock Tower, Sialkot.

Plate 27 Brandreth Gate OR Sialkoti Gate, Gujranwala.

Plate 28 View of Brandreth Gate, Gujranwala with its adjoining builings.

Plate 29 View of Brandreth Gate, Gujranwala, showing its embellishments.

Plate 30 View of Brandreth Gate, Gujranwala, showing its embellished column.

Plate 31 Lahori Gate, Gujranwala.

Plate 32 Qaiseri Gate, Lyallpur, in front of Ghumbdi Chowk.

Plate 33 Qaiseri Gate, Lyallpur.

Plate 34 Qaiseri Gate, Lyallpur at entrance of Rail Bazaar.

Plate 35 Ghumbdi and Ghumbdi Chowk, Lyallpur.

Plate 36 Symmetrical façade of Ghumbdi, Lyallpur.

Plate 37 View of monument of Ghumbdi, Lyallpur.

Plate 38 View of first floor, of a street mansion, in old town of Gujranwala.

Plate 39 A street mansion, in old town of Gujranwala.

Plate 40 A street mansion, in old town of Gujranwala.

Plate 41 First floor of a street mansion in civil station of Gujranwala.

Plate 42 A street mansion in civil station of Gujranwala.

Plate 43 Boundary wall of Anwar Lodge, Gujranwala,

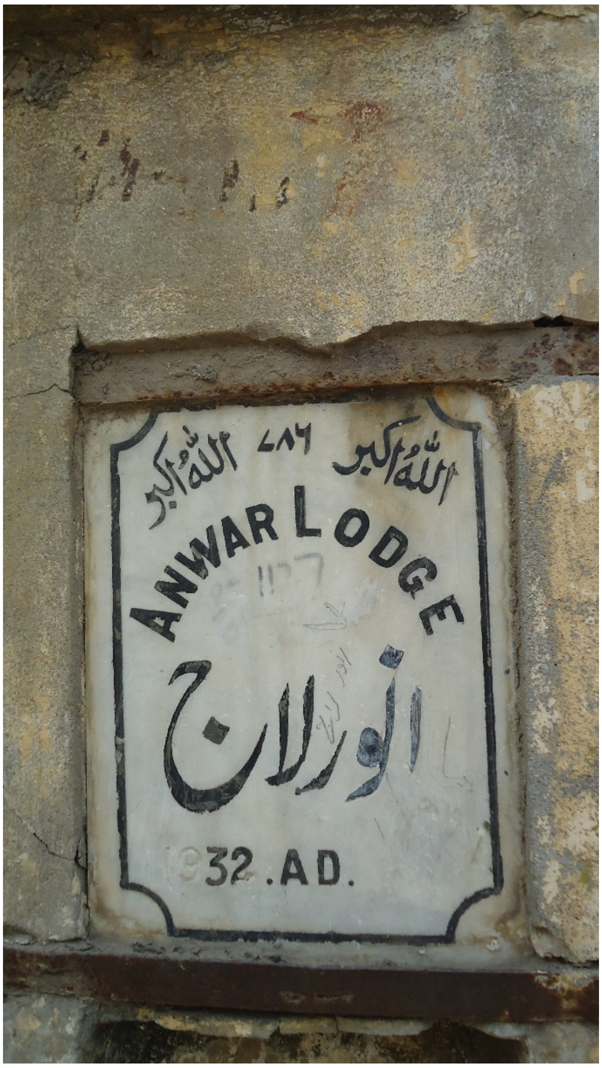


Plate 44 Name plate of Anwar Lodge, Gujranwala, mentioning its year of construction.

Plate 45 Anwar Lodge, Gujranwala.

Plate 46 Central element of a street mansion at Gujrat.

Plate 47 Details of side window of a street mansion in the town of Gujrat.

Plate 48 View of shop in the ground floor of a street mansion, nearby Nath Mandir, at the old walled town of Jhang.

Plate 49 Details of first floor of a street mansion, near Nath Mandir, in Jhang.

Plate 50 Central panel in the first floor of a street mansion, near Nath Mandir, in Jhang.

Plate 51 Top floors of a street mansion near the Fort of old walled town of Sialkot.

Plate 52 First floor of a street mansion near the Fort of old walled town of Sialkot.

Plate 53 Top floors of a street mansion near the Sialkot Fort.

Plate 54 A street mansion before the entrance to Imam Sahbi's Shrine, on Tibba Jalian in the walled town of Sialkot.

Plate 55 View of the bazar street side façade of a street mansion before the entrance to Imam Sahbi's Shrine, on Tibba Jalian in the walled town of Sialkot.

Plate 56 Top floors of a street mansion built in modern style, near the Shrine of Imam Sahib, on Tibba Jalian, of walled town of Sialkot.

Plate 57 Second floor of a street mansion built in modern style, near the Shrine of Imam Sahib, on Tibba Jalian, of walled town of Sialkot.

Plate 58 Yahya Manzal, on Tibba Jalian, in the walled town of Sialkot.

Plate 59 Top floors of Yahya Manzal, on Tibba Jalian, in the walled town of Sialkot.

Plate 60 Corner of Yahya Manzal, on Tibba Jalian, in the walled town of Sialkot.

Plate 61 View of Yahya Manzal, on Tibba Jalian, in the walled town of Sialkot, from street junction.

Plate 62 Details of top floors of Yahya Manzal, on Tibba Jalian, in the walled town of Sialkot, from the street junction.

Plate 63 View showing Qayum Villa and Yahya Manzal, on Tibba Jalian, in the walled town of Sialkot, from the street junction.

Plate 64 Qayum Villa, on Tibba Jalian, in the walled town of Sialkot.

Plate 65 A street mansion, near the Qayum Villa, on Tibba Jalian, in the walled town of Sialkot.

Plate 66 Details of ground floor of a street mansion, near the Qayum Villa, on Tibba Jalian, in the walled town of Sialkot.

Plate 67 Ground floor of a street mansion, near the Qayum Villa, on Tibba Jalian, in Sialkot.

Plate 68 Details of a street mansion, near the Qayum Villa, on Tibba Jalian, in Sialkot.

Plate 69 View of ground floor of a street mansion, near the Qayum Villa, on Tibba Jalian, Sialkot.

Plate 70 Top floor of a street mansion, near the Qayum Villa, on Tibba Jalian, Sialkot.

Plate 71 Corner rooms on roof of a street mansion, near the Qayum Villa, on Tibba Jalian, Sialkot.

Plate 72 Details of room on roof of a street mansion, near the Qayum Villa, on Tibba Jalian, Sialkot.

Plate 73 Mistri Mohammad Shafi Butt Manzal, in the walled town of Sialkot.

Plate 74 Balcony in Mistri Mohammad Shafi Butt Manzal, in the walled town of Sialkot.

Plate 75 A street mansion on main road of Sadar Bazar, in Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 76 A street mansion, Bishamber Dass & Sons, at Iqbal Square, in front of Clock Tower, Sadar Bazar, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 77 A street mansion in front of Railway Station, on Railway Road, Sialkot.

Plate 78 A street mansion on Railway Road, Sialkot.

Plate 79 A bungalow-style residence on Kutchery Road, Sialkot.

Plate 80 View of a bungalow-style residence on Kutchery Road, Sialkot.

Plate 81 Details of street façade of Uberoi Cooperation Sports Factory, on Paris Road, Civil Station of Sialkot.

Plate 82 View showing the front building in the factory premises of Uberoi Cooperation Sports, in Sialkot, housing the staff offices and its attached decaying brick structure.

Plate 83 Abandoned brick building in the factory premises of Uberoi Cooperation Sports, Sialkot.

Plate 84 View of door to room, of the abandoned building in the factory premises of Uberoi Cooperation Sports, Sialkot.

Plate 85 Room of abandoned building in the factory premises of Uberoi Cooperation Sports, Sialkot.

Plate 86 Abandoned building in the factory premises of Uberoi Cooperation Sports, Sialkot.

Plate 87 Uberoi Cooperation Sports, Sialkot, showing abandoned building, minaret, and steel shed.

Plate 88 Minaret in factory premises of Uberoi Cooperation Sports, Sialkot.

Plate 89 Warehouse building, in factory premises of Uberoi Cooperation Sports, Sialkot.

Plate 90 Warehouse building, in factory premises of Uberoi Cooperation Sports, Sialkot.


Plate 91 Steel Sheds, in factory premises of Uberoi Cooperation Sports, Sialkot.


Plate 92 Steel sheds, housing the workshops in factory premises of Uberoi Cooperation Sports, Sialkot.

Plate 93 Steel sheds, housing workshops of Uberoi Cooperation Sports, Sialkot.

Plate 94 Boundary wall of Uberoi Mansion, Sialkot.

Plate 95 Uberoi Mansion, Sialkot.

Plate 96 View of Uberoi Mansion, Sialkot, showing its entrance portico, side wings and first floor.

Plate 97 Details of entrance portico of Uberoi Mansion, Sialkot.

Plate 98 Parapet of Uberoi Mansion, Sialkot.

Plate 99 An old house of colonial times in town of Montgomery.

Plate 100 Details of upper floors of an old house of colonial times in town of Montgomery.

Plate 101 Details of an old house of colonial times in town of Montgomery.

Plate 102 Wooden Balcony in a street mansion, of Montgomery.

Appendix VII – Architecture of Other Institutional Structures: Photographic Survey by the Author during the Fieldwork

THIS CHURCH WAS DESIGNED AND
BUILT BY L^{T} J.HARTLEY MAXWELL BENGAL ENGINEERS
THE FOUNDATION STONE WAS LAID ON 1ST M^{AR} 1852.
THE CHURCH CONSECRATED ON 30TH J^{AN} 1857.
SI MONUMENTUM REQUIRIS CIRCUMSPICE

Plate 1 Foundation stone of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 2 Main entrance gate of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 3 Brick structure at entrance gate in boundary wall of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 4 View of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Sialkot Cantonment, from road outside its boundary wall.

Plate 5 Façade of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Sialkot Cantonment, towards entrance gate.

Plate 6 Façade of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Sialkot Cantonment, towards entrance gate.

Plate 7 Bell Tower of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 8 View of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 9 Window in Holy Trinity Cathedral, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 10 Entrance in Holy Trinity Cathedral, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 11 Altar in Holy Trinity Cathedral, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 12 Main hall, in Holy Trinity Cathedral, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 13 View of main hall, in Holy Trinity Cathedral, Sialkot Cantonment, showing its seating and rose window.

Plate 14 View of side aisle, in Holy Trinity Cathedral, Sialkot Cantonment.

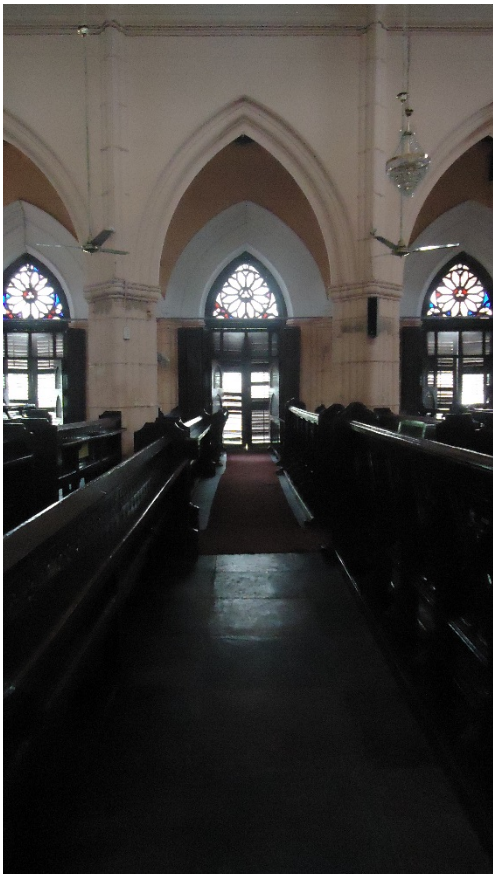


Plate 15 Interior of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Sialkot Cantonment.

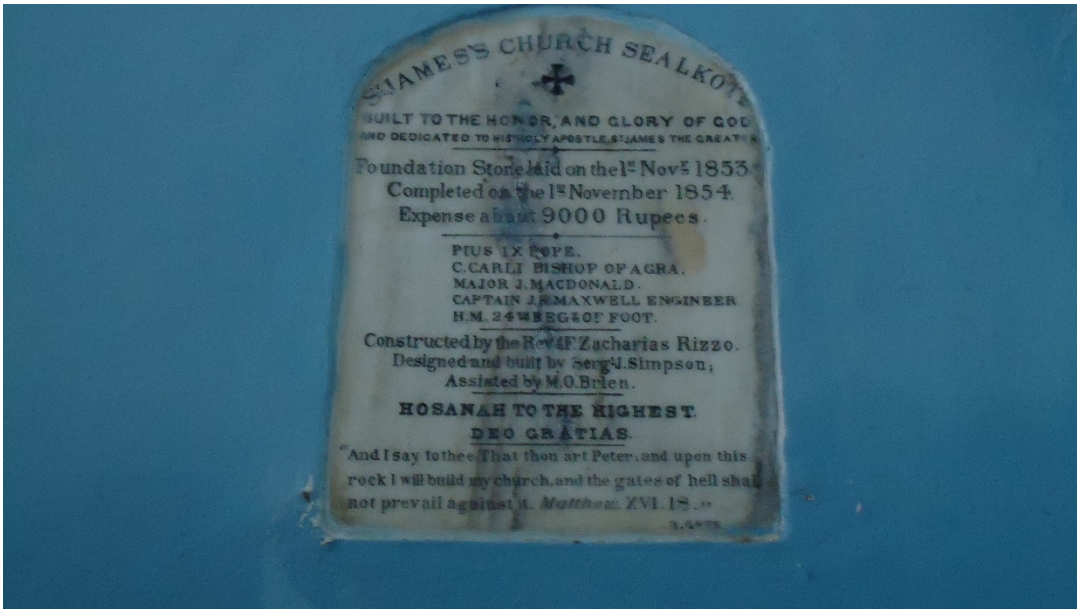
Plate 16 Column in in Holy Trinity Cathedral, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 17 Bell tower of Saint James Church, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 18 Saint James Church, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 19 Bell tower of Saint James Church, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 20 View of Saint James Church, Sialkot Cantonment, with its garden.



S^{t} JAMES'S CHURCH SEALKOTE

BUILT TO THE HONOR, AND GLORY OF GOD
AND DEDICATED TO HIS HOLY APOSTLE, S^{t} JAMES THE GREATER

Foundation Stone laid on the 1st Nov^{r} 1853
Completed on the 1st November 1854
Expense about 9000 Rupees.

PIUS IX POPE.
C. CARLI BISHOP OF AGRA.
MAJOR J. MACDONALD.
CAPTAIN J. H. MAXWELL ENGINEER
H.M. 24th REG^{t} OF FOOT.

Constructed by the Rev^{d} F. Zacharias Rizzo.
Designed and built by Serg^{t} J. Simpson;
Assisted by M. O. Brien.

HOSANAH TO THE HIGHEST.
DEO GRATIAS.

"And I say to thee: That thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. *Matthew.* XVI. 18."

Plate 21 Foundation Stone of Saint James Church, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 22 Main hall of Saint James Church, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 23 Saint James Church, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 24 Sculpture and choir area in Saint James Church, Sialkot Cantonment.


Plate 25 Arch, and roof in Saint James Church, Sialkot Cantonment.


Plate 26 Interior of Saint James Church, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 27 Side aisle in Saint James Church, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 28 View of entrance to main hall of Saint James Church, Sialkot Cantonment.

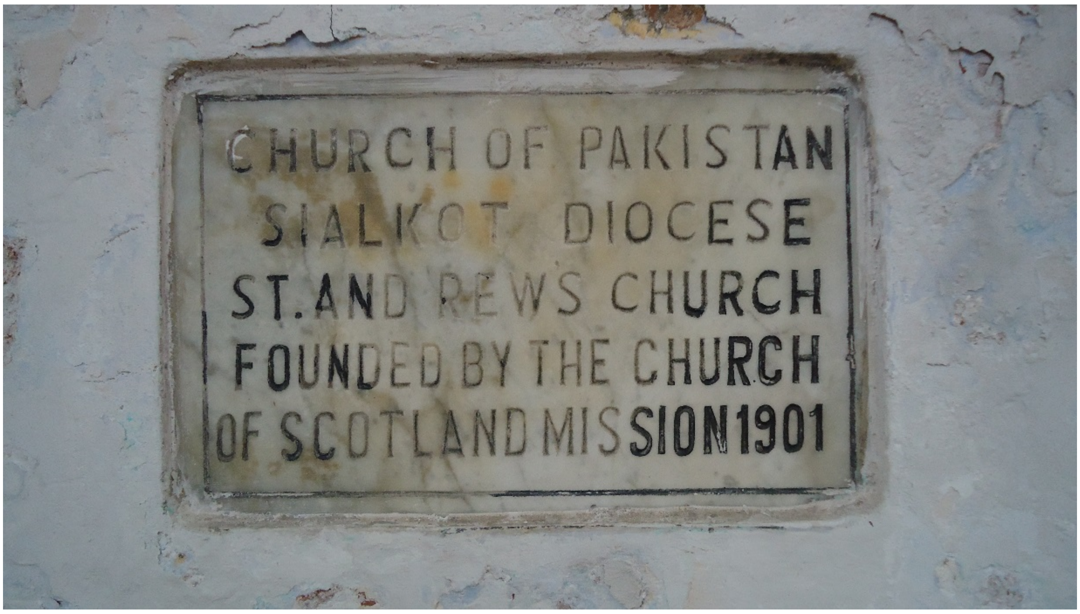


Plate 29 Foundation Stone of Saint Andrews Church, Gujrat.

Plate 30 Saint Andrews Church, Gujrat.

Plate 31Bell tower of Saint Andrews Church, Gujrat.

Plate 32 View of Saint Andrews Church, Gujrat.

Plate 33 Windows in Saint Andrews Church, Gujrat.

Plate 34 Openings and roof of Saint Andrews Church, Gujrat.

Plate 35 Entrance to main hall of Saint Andrews Church, Gujrat.

Plate 36 View of altar and main hall of Saint Andrews Church, Gujrat.

Plate 37 Main hall of Saint Andrews Church, Gujrat.

Plate 38 View of Saint Zavier Church, Gujrat, from outside its boundary wall.

Plate 39 Saint Zavier Church, Gujrat.

Plate 40 View of Saint Zavier Church, Gujrat, with its garden.

Plate 41 Rear side of Saint Zavier Church, Gujrat, showing bell attached to its roof.

Plate 42 View of Saint Zavier Church, Gujrat

Plate 43 Main hall and altar of Saint Zavier Church, Gujrat

Plate 44 View of high wooden roof of Saint Zavier Church, Gujrat.

Plate 45 Old building of colonial times, Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul, Lyallpur.

Plate 46 New building of post-colonial times, Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul, Lyallpur.

Plate 47 View of old building, Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul, Lyallpur.

Plate 48 Details of façade of old building, Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul, Lyallpur.

Plate 49 Old building, Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul, Lyallpur.

Plate 50 Main hall of old building, Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul, Lyallpur.

Plate 51 United Presbyterian Theological Seminary Lendrum Memorial Church, Gujranwala.

Plate 52 Side view of United Presbyterian Theological Seminary Church, Gujranwala.

Plate 53 Veranda of United Presbyterian Theological Seminary Church, Gujranwala.

Plate 54 Road facing façade of United Presbyterian Theological Seminary Church, Gujranwala, showing its pediment.

Plate *55* Old photograph of United Presbyterian Theological Seminary Church, Gujranwala, showing double storey structure.

Plate *56* Present view of United Presbyterian Theological Seminary Church, Gujranwala showing no double storey square structure.

Plate 57 Main hall of United Presbyterian Theological Seminary Church, Gujranwala.

Plate 58 View of rear side of United Presbyterian Theological Seminary Lendrum Memorial Church, Gujranwala.

Plate 59 Saint Paul Church, Lyallpur.

Plate 60 Foundation stone of Saint Paul Church, Lyallpur.

Plate 61 Rear side of Saint Paul Church, Lyallpur, showing its bell tower and windows in wall of alter.

Plate 62 Saint Paul Church, Lyallpur, showing its alter wall.

Plate 63 View of Saint Paul Church, Lyallpur, showing its high triangular pediment wooden roof with roof tiles, and openings in side wall.

Plate 64 Alter in main hall of Saint Paul Church, Lyallpur.

Plate 65 View of entrance of main hall from alter of Saint Paul Church, Lyallpur.

Plate 66 Ventilators and roof of main hall, Saint Paul Church, Lyallpur.

Plate 67 Saint Mary Church, Montgomery.

Plate 68 Pointed arched window and side façade of Saint Mary Church, Montgomery.

Plate 69 Stone showing original year of construction of Saint Mary Church, Montgomery.

Plate 70 Stone mentioning year of renovation of Saint Mary Church, Montgomery.

Plate 71 An old residence of colonial times, in Saint Mary Church, Montgomery.

Plate 72 An old colonial house and the school building in premises of Saint Mary Church, Montgomery.

Plate 73 Bell tower, Swift Memorial First Presbyterian Church, Gujranwala.

SWIFT MEMORIAL 1ST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
CIVIL LINES, GUJRANWALA

CONSTRUCTED IN 1928 FOR 200 MEMBERS
EXTENDED AND RENOVATED FOR 500 MEMBERS
IN 2001-02 FINANCED BY IT'S

CONGREGATION

SUPERVISED AND PLANNED BY ITS SESSION

REV. ARIF SIRAJ (PASTOR IN-SERVICE)
ELDER ALEXANDER J. MALL; ELDER EMMANUEL GHAURI;
ELDER NAZIR ALMAS; ELDER JAMES MURAD;
ELDER IFTIKHAR K. ALAM AND ELDER VINCENT A. DAVID

Plate 74 Plate mentioning years of construction and renovation of Swift Memorial First Presbyterian Church, Gujranwala.

Plate 75 View of alter in main hall of Swift Memorial First Presbyterian Church, Gujranwala.

Plate 76 View of entrance from alter of main hall, Swift Memorial First Presbyterian Church, Gujranwala.

Plate 77 Murray Church, Sialkot.

Plate 78 Stone in building showing the construction date of Murray Church, Sialkot.

Plate 79 View of entrance and bell tower of Murray Church, Sialkot.

Plate 80 View of Murray Church, Sialkot, from main building of Murray College.

Plate 81 Bell tower of Murray Church, Sialkot.

Plate 82 View of Murray Church, Sialkot, showing its windows and ventilators.

Plate 83 Main hall of Murray Church, Sialkot.

Plate 84 Alter of Murray Church, Sialkot.

Plate 85 Arches and columns of main hall, Murray Church, Sialkot.

Plate 86 View of main hall from alter, Murray Church, Sialkot.

Plate 87 Church of England, Sargodha.

Plate 88 View of Church of England, Sargodha, showing its windows, main hall with flat roof and alter with high triangular pediment roof.

Plate 89 Side view of Church of England, Sargodha, showing its windows, flat roof on main hall and high triangular roof on alter.

Plate 90 Side entrance and façade of Church of England, Sargodha.

Plate 91 View of Church of England, Sargodha, showing its high roof on alter.

Plate 92 High roof of alter with bell, in Church of England, Sargodha.

Plate 93 Main hall of Church of England, Sargodha.

Plate 94 Church of England, Sargodha, showing its main hall.


Plate 95 High wooden roof in Church of England, Sargodha.


Plate 96 View of entrance from alter in Church of England, Sargodha.

Plate 97 Salvation Army Church, Jhang.

Plate 98 Gothic windows in Salvation Army Church, Jhang.

Plate 99 Foundation stone of Saint Teresa's Catholic Church, Sheikhupura.

Plate 100 Saint Teresa's Catholic Church, Sheikhupura.

Plate 101 Wooden bench besides the entrance on main hall, Saint Teresa's Catholic Church, Sheikhupura.

Plate 102 Main hall of Saint Teresa's Catholic Church, Sheikhupura.

Plate 103 Premises of Convent of Jesus and Mary, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 104 Convent of Jesus and Mary, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 105 Double door with pointed arched opening at Convent of Jesus and Mary, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 106 View of Convent of Jesus and Mary, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 107 Double door with semi-circular arched opening at Convent of Jesus and Mary, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 108 View of veranda of Convent of Jesus and Mary, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 109 Veranda at Convent of Jesus and Mary, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 110 View of Convent of Jesus and Mary, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 111 Old residence in premises of Convent of Jesus and Mary, Sialkot Cantonment.

Plate 112 View of Convent of Jesus and Mary, Sialkot Cantonment, showing its old colonial residences.

Plate 113 Government Islamia High School, Maghiana-Jhang.

Plate 114 Foundation stone of Government Islamia High School, Maghiana-Jhang.

Plate 115 Main building of Government Islamia High School, Maghiana-Jhang.

Plate 116 Front façade of main building, Government Islamia High School, Maghiana-Jhang.

Plate 117 Front veranda in main building, Government Islamia High School, Maghiana-Jhang.

Plate 118 Rear side of main building, Government Islamia High School, Maghiana-Jhang.

Plate 119 Rear façade of main building, Government Islamia High School, Maghiana-Jhang, showing its double storey central block.

Plate 120 Other buildings in modern style in premises of Government Islamia High School, Maghiana-Jhang.

Plate 121 Government High School, Montgomery.

Plate 122 Grassy ground in front of main building of Government High School, Montgomery.

Plate 123 View of Government High School, Montgomery, showing its recessed back central block and side wings.

Plate 124 Central block of main building, Government High School, Montgomery.

Plate 125 Details of entrance in middle of central block of main building, Government High School, Montgomery.

Plate 126 View of Government High School, Montgomery, showing its arcaded veranda.

Plate 127 Arcaded veranda in side wing of main building, Government High School, Montgomery.

Plate 128 Veranda of side wing probably constructed later in main building of Government High School, Montgomery.

Plate 129 D.A.V. High School, (now Government College of Commerce), Montgomery.

Plate 130 Foundation stone of D.A.V. High School, Montgomery.

Plate 131 Covered portico of front façade, D.A.V. High School, Montgomery.

Plate 132 Front façade of D.A.V. High School, Montgomery, towards the road.

Plate 133 Covered portico towards courtyard, D.A.V. High School, Montgomery.

Plate 134 Façade of front wing towards the courtyard, D.A.V. High School, Montgomery.

Plate 135 Class room in D.A.V. High School, Montgomery.

Plate 136 View of side wing from courtyard, D.A.V. High School, Montgomery.

Plate 137 Government Jinnah Memorial Muslim High School, Gujranwala.

Plate 138 Inscription and details of front façade, Government Jinnah Memorial Muslim High School, Gujranwala.

Plate 139 Arcaded veranda behind front entrance, Government Jinnah Memorial Muslim High School, Gujranwala.

Plate 140 Courtyard with place for Sikh flag, in Government Jinnah Memorial Muslim High School, Gujranwala.

Plate 141 Wooden door to main hall of Government Jinnah Memorial Muslim High School, Gujranwala.

Plate 142 Main hall of Government Jinnah Memorial Muslim High School, Gujranwala.

Plate 143 Government Ambala Muslim High School, Sargodha.

Plate 144 Main entrance of Government Ambala Muslim High School, Sargodha.

Plate 145 View of Government Ambala Muslim High School, Sargodha, showing its minaret, first floor, and courtyard.

Plate 146 First floor of school building, Government Ambala Muslim High School, Sargodha.

Plate 147 Courtyard of school building, Government Ambala Muslim High School, Sargodha.

Plate 148 View of Government Ambala Muslim High School, Sargodha, showing its courtyard and first floor.

Plate 149 Minaret of Government Ambala Muslim High School, Sargodha.

Plate 150 Courtyard of Government Ambala Muslim High School, Sargodha, showing its place for Sikh flag.

Plate 151 Veranda of Government Ambala Muslim High School, Sargodha.

Plate 152 Class room of Government Ambala Muslim High School, Sargodha.

Plate 153 Main building, Murray College, Sialkot.

Plate 154 View of college premises from Murray Church of Scotland, showing side view of main college building of colonial times on right and new college building of post-colonial times in the front, at Murray College, Sialkot.

Plate 155 View of main college building from Murray Church on left of main gate of Murray College, Sialkot.

Plate 156 View of right wing of main college building, Murray College, Sialkot.

Plate 157 View of double storey hall in main college building, Murray College, Sialkot.

Plate 158 Main hall, Murray College, Sialkot.

Plate 159 View of main building from Allama Iqbal Library, in Murray College, Sialkot.

Plate 160 Allama Iqbal Library, Murray College, Sialkot.

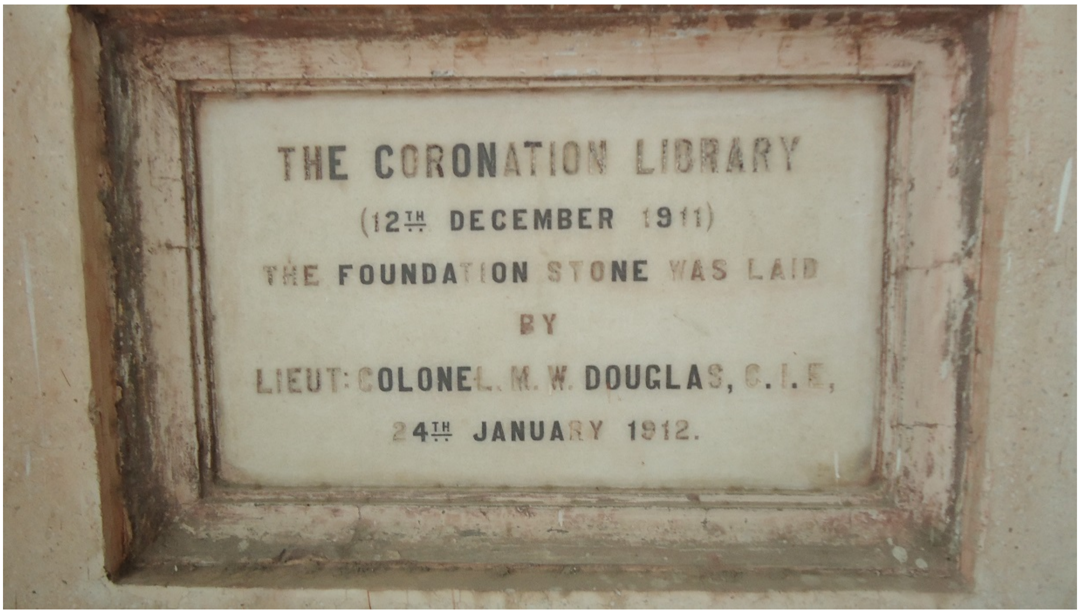
Plate 161 Side view of Allama Iqbal Library, Murray College, Sialkot.

Plate 162 View of entrance pillar of Allama Iqbal Library and old hostel building in the background, at Murray College, Sialkot.

Plate 163 Old hostel building, Murray College, Sialkot.

Plate 164 Spacious veranda and corridors in abandoned old hostel building, Murray College, Sialkot.

Plate 165 Coronation Library, Lyallpur.



THE CORONATION LIBRARY

(12TH DECEMBER 1911)

THE FOUNDATION STONE WAS LAID

BY

LIEUT: COLONEL M. W. DOUGLAS, C. I. E,

24TH JANUARY 1912.

Plate 166 Foundation stone of Coronation Library, Lyallpur.

Plate 167 Entrance portico of Coronation Library, Lyallpur.

Plate 168 Front façade of Coronation Library, Lyallpur.

Plate 169 Veranda of Coronation Library, Lyallpur.

Plate 170 Sculpture in front lawn of Coronation Library, Lyallpur.

Plate 171 Veranda in Coronation Library, Lyallpur.

Plate 172 Arched entrance door to reading room, Coronation Library, Lyallpur.

Plate 173 High roof of reading room, in Coronation Library, Lyallpur.

Plate 174 View of reading room, in Coronation Library, Lyallpur.

Plate 175 Main building of Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur.

Plate 176 View of main college building from front lawn, Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur.

Plate 177 Details of main building, Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur.

Plate 178 Veranda in main building, Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur.

Plate 179 View of veranda in main building, Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur.

Plate 180 College buildings of colonial times, in Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur.

Plate 181 Old hostel building, Ayesha Sadiqa Hall, in Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur.

Plate 182 View of old hostel, Ayesha Sadiqa Hall, in Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur.

Plate 183 New college building, in Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur.

Plate 184 New building of post-colonial times, in Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur.

Plate 185 View of new college building, in Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur.

Plate 186 New college building adjacent to old college building, in Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur.

Plate 187 New hostel in Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur.

Plate 188 New hostel building of post-colonial times, in Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur.


Plate 189 Main building of colonial times, in Government College of Lyallpur.


Plate 190 Open space in front of main building, Government College of Lyallpur.

Plate 191 Veranda in main building, Government College of Lyallpur.

Plate 192 Side wing of main building, Government College of Lyallpur.

Plate 193 Front veranda in main building, Government College of Lyallpur.

Plate 194 Side wing in main building, Government College of Lyallpur.

Plate 195 Armstrong Library in main building, Government College of Lyallpur.

Plate 196 Stone mentioning the year of establishment of Armstrong Library in main building of Government College of Lyallpur.

Plate 197 View of a new building of post-colonial times in campus of Government College of Lyallpur.